



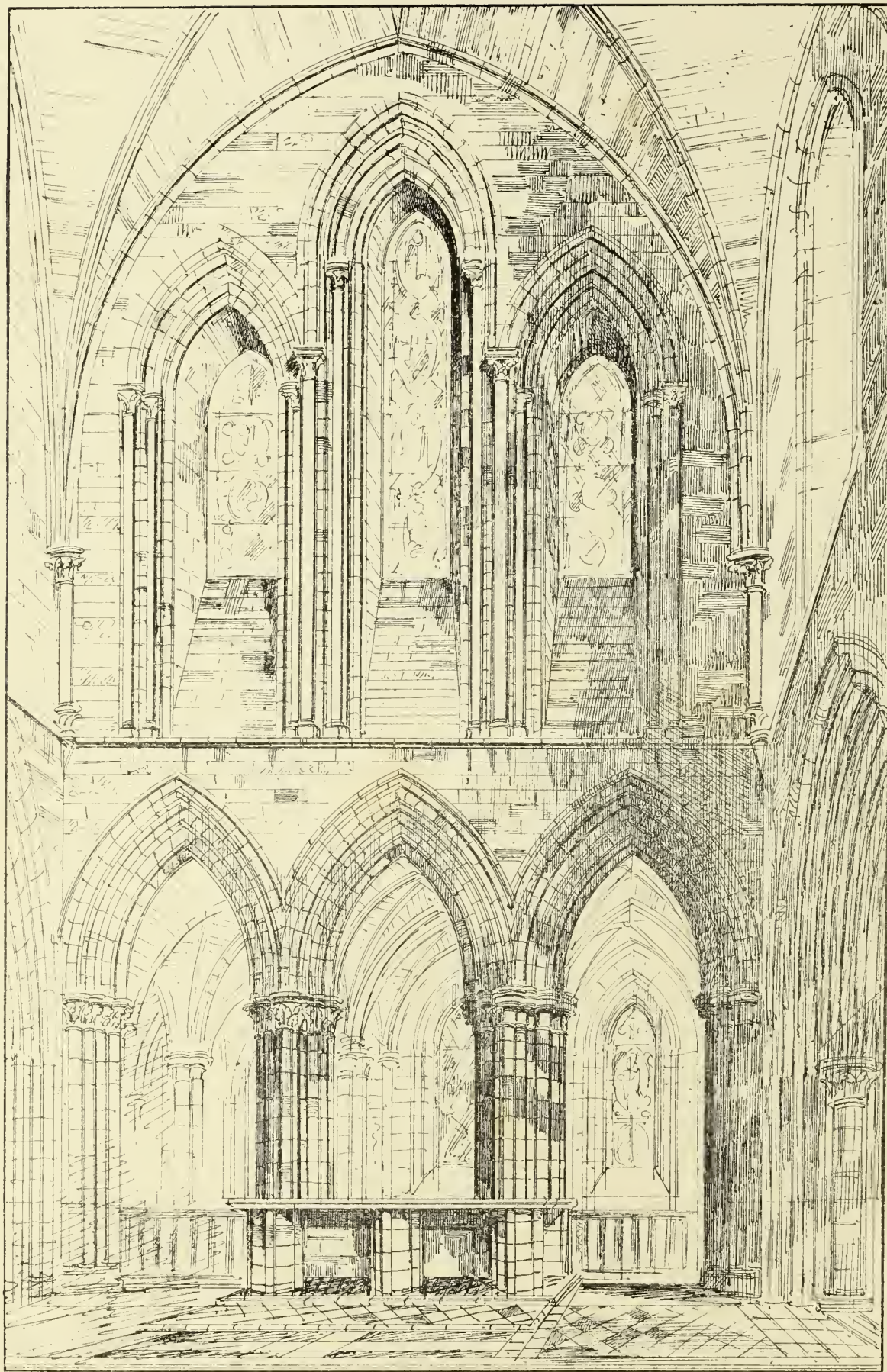




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ESSAY ON THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH CHURCH
ARCHITECTURE



THE ABBEY-CHURCH OF DORE.
INTERIOR VIEW OF THE PRESBYTERY.

AN ESSAY

ON THE HISTORY OF

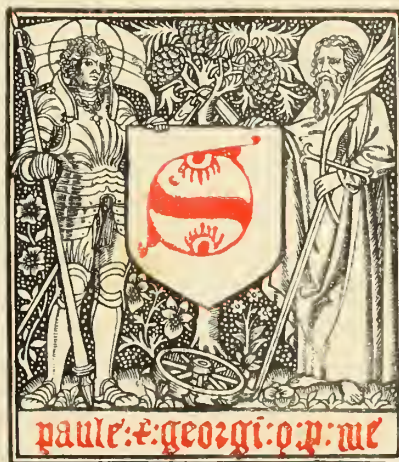
ENGLISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

PRIOR TO THE SEPARATION OF ENGLAND FROM THE ROMAN OBEDIENCE.

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WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.



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PREFACE.

THIS is but an essay upon a subject to do justice to which a treatise of many volumes would be required. It has, however, a distinct and definite aim, which should give a unity to what would otherwise appear heterogeneous in its composition. By the greater or less success with which this aim is attained this little work must be judged.

My object throughout has been to exhibit the history with which it attempts to deal as one continuous fact, having an origin, which can be quite accurately ascertained, and an orderly evolution determined by the conditions, internal and external.

It is no matter of accident that churches were built in a certain form and in a certain style at a certain date. It is possible to give a reason for this, in every case, and to trace back the cause of any particular fashion of church building, step by step, to the origin of christian art, which is one with the origin of the christian Church.

It has been my aim to exhibit the architectural art of christendom as a part of the great fact of christianity; to deal with the church architecture of our own country as but a portion of a great whole, and to display the essential solidarity of the history of christian art in England with that of christian art in general, and of christianity itself. This being understood, the reader will not be surprised to find that a good deal of space is here devoted to the consideration of the progress made by church architecture before english churches, or english christians, were. Ecclesiology in England did not start into being—an Athene sprung adult from the brain of Zeus—at the bidding of St. Augustine. Our ancestors, upon their conversion, but took up the threads of—but fell with the stream of—a tradition already venerable from its years. Or rather—and this is of the essence of the matter—they came, by that event, under the influence of two traditions, so distinct in their history, that as we follow back their parted streams we find no common channel, till we reach the common fountain-head.

It should, however, be clearly understood, at the outset, that this distinction in the ecclesiological and ritual tradition, existed side by side with identity of faith, complete inter-communion, hierarchical subordination, and organic unity. Men are parted at the present day into religious sects and churches by differences of opinion, almost microscopic, by an incompatibility of mere sentiment, or by the inequalities of social standing, and they are, therefore, prone to assume that there can have been no unity where there was no uniformity. Wide as was the distinction between the ecclesiological traditions of Britain, Gaul, Italy, and Asia Minor, there existed between these, and other countries still more remote, a complete unity of ecclesiastical organisation under an acknowledged head. British bishops were summoned in common with all other catholic prelates, to the early councils, and the mission of St. Germanus, for the correction of british Pelagianism, offers as conspicuous an example of the action of the central authority, as the mission of St. Augustine, to correct the culpable negligence of the native

hierarchy in the matter of the conversion of the saxon invaders of Britain. That the church architecture of England owes a great deal of its peculiar character to the traditions of the british church, which it was the task of St. Augustine, not so much to reform as to revivify, is sufficiently insisted on in the following pages.

Nevertheless, of an investigation into the antecedents of english church architecture, the larger portion will necessarily relate to the history of that tradition which was imported into these isles by the roman missionaries of the sixth century. This results, partly from the circumstance that at present so much more is known upon this head than upon the subject of british ecclesiology, but principally from the fact itself, that the christianity of the English is the result of the work of these roman missionaries. Of the main stream from which is derived our english ecclesiological traditions, the head-waters are in Rome, but its springs are not to be sought exclusively in Italy, nor even in western christendom. Hence our preliminary survey will cover of necessity a very wide area. Moreover the roman tradition did not make its first appearance in our island, as a consequence of the mission of St. Augustine. It had, upon the establishment of the peace of the Church (if not before the time of Constantine), been followed by the christianized roman colonists, and the officials of the empire, side by side with the very different tradition of the native british christians. The divergence of the two serves, indeed, to bring out the more clearly the essential unity to which they both witness.

It is very usual to commence the history of the church architecture of our country at the period of the norman conquest. If any retrospect of the preceding history is attempted, it is, too frequently, done in a somewhat perfunctory manner, and is disposed of as briefly as may be.

If it should be thought that too great a space is here devoted to these necessary *prolegomena*, my excuse must be, that they are very commonly omitted altogether.

Some apology is needed for the form which this little work has come to assume, which may appear to the reader somewhat unmethodical, and even desultory—a collection of papers, rather than an essay.

It will be observed, however, that the text itself pursues a pretty regular and consecutive course, and gives, so far as the ability of the writer permits, a continuous history of the subject from the point of view taken. The intervening *discursus* are intended to illustrate points in the history, which could not be dealt with at length in the text itself, without a sacrifice of that effect of unity which it has been my main object to bring out. Some of these may seem to cohere but loosely with the principal theme, but they have, as a matter of fact, been suggested by it. To write, so as to interest others, a man must write what comes to him. *Serpit humi tutus nimium*. The consideration of various details, bearing all, more or less directly, upon the main thesis, has brought about a result which, if unmethodical, is at least natural and spontaneous. It may, perhaps, be not the less interesting to the reader on that account.

There is one point in connection with our medieval architecture, upon which I should have been glad to have been able to remark, as it is one which has long interested me, but the little study which I have given to the subject has not enabled me to arrive at any conclusions of value. I refer to the systems of proportionment adopted by the architects of the middle ages.

That there were such rules, traditional in the various schools of medieval art, the outcome

of ancient science, and of accumulating experience, I have no doubt. I feel convinced, too, that different schools had different methods, to which is due the very different effect of the buildings erected by each. It is with systems of proportioning as with the keys of the musical scale, one is fitted to the expression of one kind of sentiment, one to another. But what these rules were, it is now, perhaps—the tradition having been broken—impossible to ascertain.

Apart from the antecedent probability of the existence of such rules, which results from what we know of the practice of the architects of antiquity, the conditions of the building craft during the middle ages, would lead us to expect that such traditions, as were undoubtedly in existence from very early times, would be carefully preserved and elaborated. Such a result was indeed insured by the fact, that like all the other crafts, the building trade was organised upon a very systematic principle. This ruling idea of the medieval guilds was the solidarity of each craft, from the highest member of it, down to the humblest artificer.

Human society only too naturally falls into *strata*. “*Les couches sociales*” are obvious enough to every observer, in every age. What is demanded by the higher instincts is a force which shall cut athwart this grim mechanical “stratification,” which separates man from man, and effect a “cleavage” in a more or less vertical direction.

The only power which has, as a matter of fact, produced such a re-arrangement of the ultimate social particles is the catholic church. What electricity is in the physical order, christianity is in the social.

As a consequence of the gradual abandonment of christian social principles, which has followed upon the Reformation, the organization of society has reverted to the natural law. In place, therefore, of a guild in which architect, mason, joiner, carpenter, bricklayer, and labourer were banded together in a common work, under the invocation of a common patron-saint (a man like any one of them) and under the eye of an almighty Master, “*cuncta stricte discussuri*,” we have now institutes of architects, contractors’ associations, societies of foremen, masons’, joiners’, and labourers’ trade-unions. The divine idea, the electricity of the social order, having been lost, there is no longer any vertical “cleavage,” in society. Brute nature asserts itself once again, and the old battle of classes recommences, as if christianity had not been.^a

But in the middle ages the state of the building art was wholly different from that to which it has been reduced by the reaction of the sixteenth century. Up to that time it was possessed of a living tradition, of which the conditions imposed upon the craft by the circumstances of its practice, ensured the systematic inculcation.

The special peculiarity of the building trade is that it is necessarily migratory. Hence the

^a Of the result of this unhappy reaction upon the character of the work produced under the modern system, Mr. Thomas Carlyle, in an unpublished letter to Sir Joseph Whitworth, writes thus :—“A sadder object than even that of the coal strike, or any other conceivable strike, is the fact that—loosely speaking—we may say all England has decided that the profitablest way is to do its work ill, slurily, swiftly, and mendaciously. What a contrast between now and say only a hundred years ago ! At the latter date, or still more conspicuously for ages before that, all England awoke to its work—to an invocation to the Eternal Maker to bless them in their day’s labour, and help them to do it well. Now all England—shopkeepers, workmen, all manner of competing labourers—awaken, as if with an unspoken but heartfelt prayer to Beelzebub :—‘Oh, help us, thou great Lord of shoddy, adulteration, and malfasance, to do our work with the maximum of sluriness, swiftness, profit, and mendacity, for the devil’s sake. Amen.’” With the state of things thus powerfully described, the modern decay of architecture, as a living popular art, is intimately connected. Good art can only exist where there is good workmanship.

need of secret signs by which the travelling artificer might be known to his brothers in the guild all over the country, or even beyond it. This feature of the mason's guild, which the conditions of its practice originated, has survived the overthrow of the guild itself. As there is now a cloth-workers' and a drapers' company, having little or nothing to do with the manufacture of clothing stuffs, so there is a freemasonry which is not concerned with the art of working stone. But as the city cloth company was once an organised trade, so was once the company of free and accepted masons. And there can be little doubt that the various branches of the society, when it was a reality, were in possession of certain rules of proportion, the outcome at once of theory and of practical experience. Now, however, that the traditions of the building guilds have been lost, it is, of course, impossible to ascertain with certainty the principles of design which were followed in the middle ages. Some hints may, no doubt, be obtained from a careful study of measured examples, but the results hitherto obtained appear to me very much a matter of conjecture.

In connection with this subject of the mode of organisation of the building trade, there is another, upon which it would have been interesting to have touched had the materials available been sufficient for the construction of a fairly complete theory.

While the unity of the craft was so complete that a new idea, no matter where it originated, became known, and was adopted at once all over western Europe, it is also clear that this great body of artists and artizans was sub-divided into separate schools. Of these some were purely local, while others, though exhibiting the influences of local tradition, were connected with the varied families of the great religious orders.

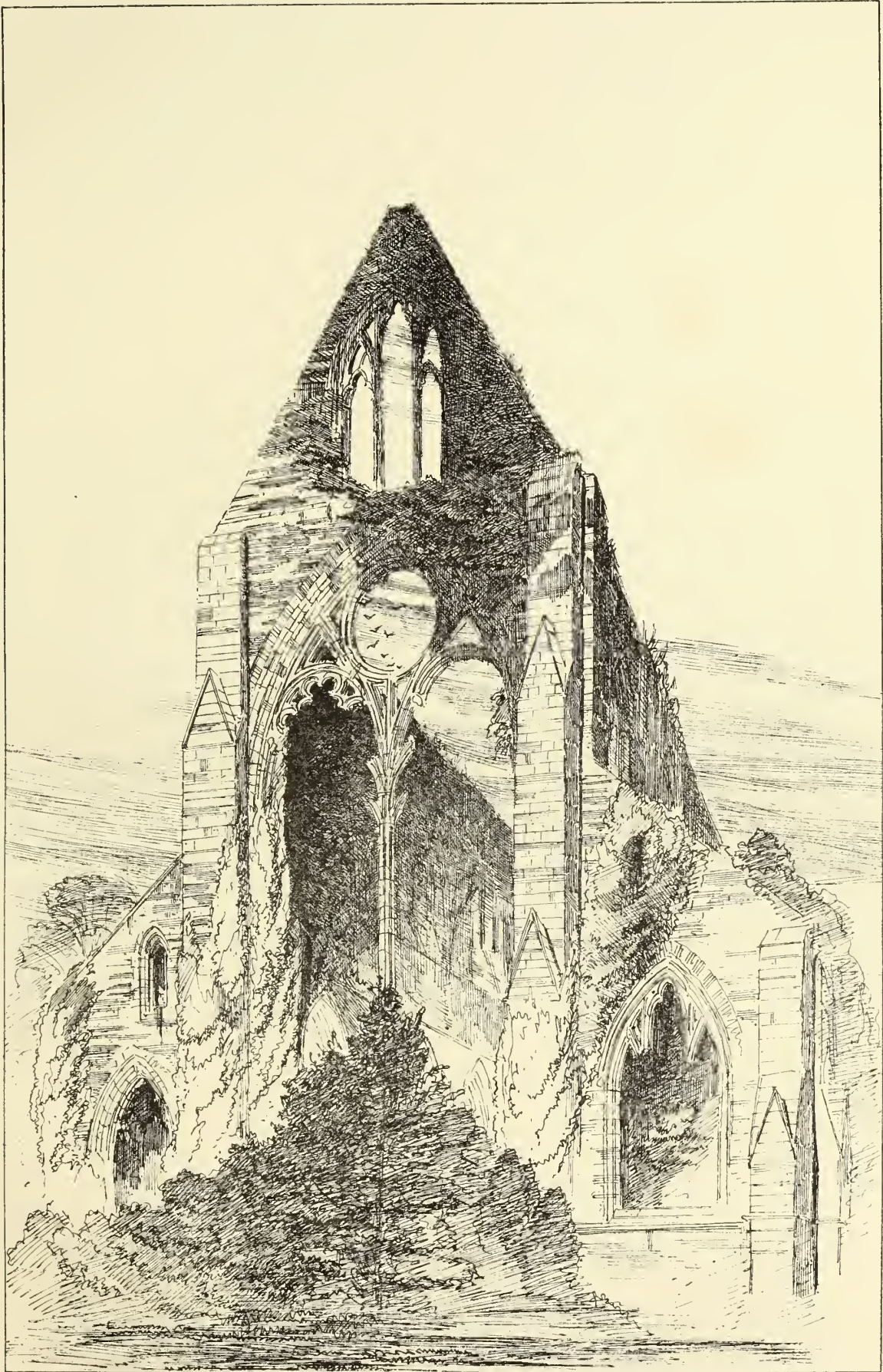
In regard to the first it is curious to observe the mannerisms, so to speak, of different districts. No one could mistake a Somerset church for an East Anglian, or a Yorkshire building for one in the Midlands. Each county has its own peculiar architectural character, known to every student of our ancient architecture,^b while of certain buildings one says, almost instinctively, this and that were designed by the same men.

The same is the case with the monastic churches. Each order appears to have originated a school of building of its own. There is, for example, about the works of the cistercian family a peculiar and undefinable tenderness, which cannot be mistaken.^c So, too, with the other religious societies, the buildings which they erected differ not more in the distribution of their plan than in the impression, more easily felt than described, which their architecture is calculated to produce.

How the unity of each school was preserved, how the traditions peculiar to each originated and were developed, and how, at the same time, an inter-communication was maintained between all these separate bodies, extending more or less over the whole of Europe, it is difficult now to conjecture. The loss of so powerful an instrument for the furtherance of art and of civilization, due to religious dis-union and the consequent enfeeblement of the social principles of christianity, must ever be a matter of profound regret.

^b Thus in Northamptonshire almost every steeple has a stone spire ; in the adjacent county of Buckingham there are, I believe, but three ancient spires, and of these two are on the border of Northants. It is quite striking in driving from the one county into the other to observe the abrupt change in the general design of the village churches, which is determined by the crossing of some nameless brooklet.

^c Rievaulx, Netley, and Tintern exhibit this, the especial character of the work of the most austere of all the monastic orders, in its noblest form, and it is important thus to observe the instinctive sympathy which unites what is most tender in the expression of human nature with the most severe asceticism.



TINTERN ABBEY.
EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE EAST END.

I have referred to this matter here, because, while it is a subject upon which I confess myself unable to throw much light, I should be unwilling to appear to ignore its importance to a proper understanding of medieval architecture.

There only remains the pleasant task of acknowledging the assistance which I have received from so many quarters. My thanks are particularly due to M. le Comte de Vogüé, the author of the work entitled "*Syrie Centrale: Architecture Civile et Religieuse du Premier au Septième Siècle*," and to M. Baudry, its publisher, for permission to reproduce from it several plans and illustrations. This is a work of great accuracy, which deserves to be more widely known. I have to thank Mr. R. Popplewell Pullan for a similar permission, very courteously given, in regard to the work upon "*Byzantine Architecture, illustrated by Examples of Edifices erected in the East during the Earliest Ages of Christianity*," which was published by him, in conjunction with M. Texier, in 1864.

To the Misses O'Brien my best thanks are due for the loan of the sketches of their brother, Edward O'Brien, which have been fac-simileed for this work by Messrs. Akerman.

To the Rev. Canon Jenkins, rector of Lyminge, I am indebted not only for an entire chapter, upon the basilica of Nola, contributed by him to this work, but also for many communications upon the subject of the basilical church of Lyminge, and upon other matters connected with the ecclesiology of early times, and for a kindly readiness to impart information which is never wearied.

For accurate observations upon the orientation of the roman basilicas I have to thank Mr. Henry Lainson, of Colley Manor, Reigate, and my old friend, the Rev. J. Wilson Pickance, whose friendship led them to spare no pains in pursuing an investigation for which their frequent residence in Rome afforded special opportunity. I owe not a little gratitude to the Rev. W. E. Addis, of the London Oratory, for valuable criticisms and suggestions in regard to subjects upon which his special knowledge constitutes him an authority.

I have mentioned but a few among the many to whom my acknowledgements are due. I must not, however, omit to express the obligation I am under to Mr. C. B. King, and to Mr. John Medland, whose painstaking researches at the British Museum and elsewhere have been of the greatest service to me in obtaining and correcting the many references, which are indispensable to a work of this character.

“ This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Feared by their breed and famous by their birth,
Renowned for their deeds as far from home,
For christian service and true chivalry,
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son,
This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world—
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself :
O, would the scandal vanish with my life,
How happy then were my ensuing death ! ”

AN ESSAY ON ENGLISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.

CHAPTER I.

THE majority of educated Englishmen have a general acquaintance with the several styles of architecture which have prevailed in this country since the period of the norman invasion. Such a knowledge has almost become an element in culture, and the ability to distinguish between "early english" and "perpendicular," "norman" and "late decorated" a necessity of polite conversation.

But a broad and rational view of the progress of medieval architecture, as a whole, is not so easily attained, while a clear notion of the relation which english church architecture bears, first to that of the early ages of christianity, and secondly, to the contemporary art of western Europe, is still more rarely met with. There are numerous text-books from which the facts of the history may be obtained with little difficulty, and I do not propose to add another to the list. My object is to help those to whom the details are familiar to understand better the position of these details, not as isolated facts, but as parts of a whole. I may be able to lay before my readers little or nothing which may not be found in the standard works upon the subject. My aim will have been attained if I succeed in placing facts, most of them trite enough, in an intelligible aspect and a rational order.

It is only in the present day that such an investigation has become possible. Those who erected the great works which are still our admiration, knew little of, and cared even less for, the works of their predecessors. The artist is essentially the man of the present, and an extended knowledge of the history of art and a sympathy with its various manifestations is not, as a rule, found in conjunction with real artistic power. Certainly those ages which have been the most fruitful in great works of architecture have been, as a rule, singularly ignorant of architectural history.

As an instance of the knowledge of architectural

antiquity which an artist of the middle ages possessed, we will notice the following. There is preserved in the National Library at Paris, the sketch-book of a thirteenth century french architect, Wilars de Honicourt. Among other most interesting drawings is a sketch of an ancient roman monument, so carefully drawn that its character is unmistakable. Upon this sketch Wilars has written—"This is the tomb of a *Saracen* which I once saw." It was evident to him that the tomb was a pagan one, and to him a Pagan and a Saracen meant the same thing.

The great period of the classic Renaissance may seem in some sort an exception to this rule. There was undoubtedly then *some* antiquarian knowledge, but the ruthless manner in which the remains of classic antiquity were destroyed by the very men who were engaged in reviving the classic style, shows how lightly they valued these priceless treasures. The ruins of the Coliseum served as a quarry from which Michael Angelo obtained the materials for the Farnese Palace, and the dome of the Pantheon was stripped of the bronze which ornamented its coffers to supply Bernini with metal for the construction of the baldachin of St. Peter's.

In the successive periods of the history of art, as in the character of the individual artist, the critical faculty and the creative are distinct, and even opposed. But seldom are the two combined in the same person or in the same age, and never in an equal proportion.

Nothing is more striking at the present day than the absence of true creative power in architectural art. I am not speaking of individual artists. We have many men who, under more favourable conditions, would have produced great and even original works. It is even remarkable how much is accomplished under existing circumstances by individual men of genius. But we have produced

no national style, nor do we seem likely at present to do so. We have broken the tradition which maintained the continuity of art history, and made each successive style the natural outcome of its predecessor. Everywhere we meet with reproductions of ancient styles, attempted revivals of lost traditions, nowhere with any genuine power of creating new forms of beauty united to new requirements. Indeed, it is difficult to see how, when tradition is broken up, or has exhausted itself, a new and genuine architecture is to be originated. We must look for this among the unknown possibilities of the future. But for the present we may well console ourselves for the deadness of the creative power in the vigour of the critical faculty. Our age is, in matters of art, eminently antiquarian, and in the minute acquaintance with the history of past styles which we possess, we may find some amends for the want of one of our own.

The history of church architecture is, in fact, the history of architecture in general ever since the establishment of the peace of the Church under Constantine the Great. "Among all nations," says M. Viollet le Duc, "religious architecture is the first to develop itself. In the earlier stages of civilisation, the temple or the church not only meets the most imperious needs of man's moral nature; it is also a refuge, an asylum, a protection against high-handed violence. It is here that the archives of the nation are laid up and its most valued title deeds placed under the guardianship of the Divinity. It is here that all great assemblies, whether civil or religious, are convened; for societies have ever felt, in trying times, the necessity of drawing near to a superhuman power, which may sanction while it directs their deliberations. This sentiment, which is found among all nations, is exhibited in a very marked manner in the christian society."

Such considerations as these will, of themselves, suggest the great part in the history of architecture which is occupied by the progress of ecclesiastical constructions. Churches, ever since christian churches first arose, have determined more or less the style of all other buildings. The church was much more in early times than it is in our own. It was not merely the place of public worship, still less the mere assembly-room for sunday sermons. It was the centre of the common-life of the christian society. At once the house, the dwelling-place of God, and the meeting-place of the citizens of His kingdom—the *Civitas Dei*. This is well brought out in the fact, on which we shall have to dwell more fully as we proceed, that the earliest type of the christian church is founded, not upon the temple, whether jewish or pagan, but upon the Basilica, which was in fact a smaller Forum. The church was not only public, but it was essentially the public place. We need not wonder, then, that upon its construction has been devoted at all periods that architectural zeal which has determined the history and progress of the art in all its various departments.

The subject, then, of church architecture, embracing,

as it does, more or less that of all the other branches of the art, is much too wide for the limits of an essay. We therefore propose to confine ourselves mainly to the history of *English* church architecture.

It is, however, impossible to isolate this history altogether from that of the progress of the art in other parts of christendom. The unity of the Church has its outward and material expression in the parallelism which exists in the development of christian architecture in different countries, and in the influence which the art of one christian nation has exercised upon that of others often locally remote.

In the commencement of our inquiry, more especially, it will be necessary to take an extended view. It is to Rome, to Constantinople, and to the East that we must look for the earliest existing examples of church architecture. From the same local centres from which we derive our religion itself is derived also the art which is its material embodiment. In the same manner, all through the history we shall have to refer from time to time to influences which have affected its progress in our own country, but which came to us from without. Such influences cannot properly be called foreign. To a christian no portion of Christendom is foreign soil; and until the schism of East and West, and the troubles of the reformation-period had divided the one society, its unity was realised in a practical intercommunion of all the churches, which affected in the most direct manner the history of christian art. We shall see from the fourth to the seventh century the same type of church building prevailing in central Syria, in Byzantium, in Greece, and at Rome, which we find to prevail in France, in Germany, in saxon England, and with slight modifications in celtic Ireland. For the prototype of the architecture employed by St. Augustine at Canterbury, we shall seek naturally at Rome and at Ravenna. The future of english art after the norman conquest was determined by that great impulse which stirred the whole of the western church at the preaching of Peter the hermit, of Amiens. Its subsequent progress until the fourteenth century cannot be studied apart from the history of the art in France, while the movement which ultimately overthrew the gothic style in this country, as elsewhere, was distinctly italian in its origin. Anxious as the english reformers were to cut us off completely from the unreformed churches of the continent, they still could not prevent their influence upon our church architecture. We had rejected Roman doctrine, but we could not escape the influence of Roman art. Our religion might be national, but our church architecture became italian. Canterbury had broken, absolutely, with the Vatican, but St. Paul's cathedral would have been impossible but for the erection of St. Peter's.

Hence, while confining our review of the history of ecclesiastical architecture mainly to that of England, it will be necessary to commence with that earlier art, out of which our own took its

origin, and it will be needful from time to time to digress from our own main course in order to explain the influence upon our own architecture, which was exercised by the contemporary art of other christian countries. Our subject is therefore, to some extent, the history of church architecture in general, but with an especial reference to the course which that history has taken in our own country.

The first question which meets us upon the threshold of our inquiry is one to which we have unfortunately very few materials for a reply. What was the character and what were the arrangements of christian churches previous to the reign of Constantine? With the possible exception of some few of the ruined churches of central Syria, there are no remains of christian buildings erected prior to the peace of the church, and it is from the roman catacombs chiefly that we obtain hints as to the arrangements which prevailed in the churches above ground. The absence of any earlier monuments of christian art is to be attributed at once to the severity of the Diocletian persecution, and to the completeness of the triumph which followed so immediately upon it. The one had left almost every christian church a ruin, and the other rendered possible their re-erection upon such grander models that it was seldom considered worth while to restore the simpler buildings previously in use.

That there were churches, and these of considerable dimensions, at an earlier date, we know from written evidence. Eusebius tells us that the great basilica erected by Constantine at Tyre was a restoration of the earlier one destroyed in the recent persecution, and that great cost was incurred in continuing the new work so as to preserve as much as possible of the original building. The history of the Diocletian persecution shows us the immense number of christian churches which then existed, in the accounts given of their destruction in every part of the empire. It is impossible to examine, as in some cases we still may, the great churches erected by Constantine, or to read the description of others which have perished, without seeing that a definite type of church arrangement had been already adopted, and was, so to speak, ready to hand. The similarity of plan which we trace in all the churches erected by the first christian emperor is a great argument that the type employed was already a traditional one. That it was not invented at that time, is shown by the statement of Eusebius to which we have just referred. Still, in early times the position of the church rendered the erection of any but the humblest buildings exceptional. These are generally spoken of as oratories, and were frequently, no doubt, merely rooms in the houses of persons of position who had embraced the faith. The expression so common in the Epistles, "the church which is in the house" of such an one, points clearly to the meeting of the little community in the residence of one of its principal members, and the rooms set apart for this purpose formed the first oratories or chapels in which were celebrated

the august rites of the new law. We have a tradition of a somewhat similar state of things in the position of so many of our own country churches, placed close to the house of the great family to whose piety it owed its foundation, and by whose liberality it was in early times maintained. St. Jerome speaking of the basilica at Rome, which is dedicated to St. Clement, its third bishop and the fellow-labourer of St. Paul, alludes to the oratory of the saint still existing in that church. It was supposed, until the present day, that the church to which St. Jerome referred was the existing building, and as nothing corresponding to his description is there to be found, it was assumed that his words referred to the tomb or shrine of the saint. Quite recently, however, there has been discovered below the present church, the lower portion of the original building. It was to this church that St. Jerome's remarks had reference, and here beyond the apse there exists, just as he describes, the room which formed the oratory of St. Clement. It is simply an apartment in what has evidently been a large residence of the period of the early empire. The character of the house is such as we might expect from the social position of the saint, who was a member of the Flavian family, and the nephew, probably, of Flavius Clemens. This interesting building has been discovered, and together with the adjoining church has been cleared out and exposed to view by the energy of Father Mullooly, the prior of the irish dominicans, to whom the church now belongs; and though there is nothing to give us any hint of its internal arrangements, it is impossible to view this simple oratory without emotion. Here in this simple hall we may see the earliest existing home of those newer rites which were destined to overspread the world, and to enshrine themselves hereafter in the noblest buildings which man has ever erected—the prototype, in fact, of St. Sophia and of St. Peter's, of Strasburg and of Westminster.

From rooms thus set apart for christian worship, and from similar small buildings erected when more favourable circumstances permitted, arose the simplest type of church architecture—a type which may be considered as distinct from that larger type of building which was developed afterwards, and which became almost universal after the establishment of the Church, and which is known as the Basilican. To this earlier class may be referred the chapels of the catacombs; and these simple places of worship are generally distinguished by the name of oratories from these larger buildings termed churches or basilicas. A simple aisleless chapel divided by a cross arch into two divisions (sometimes in later times into three) and terminating either in a square end or in an apse, such appears to have been the primitive model of what was afterwards the parish church, as distinguished from the cathedral and monastic structures, and this simple plan dates, we conceive, from the commencement of christianity itself. This type continued to run on in this

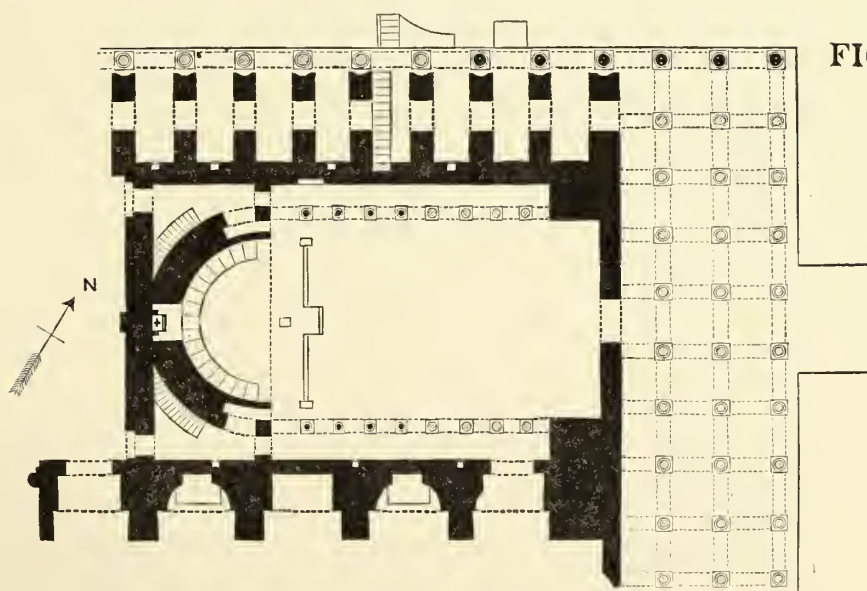
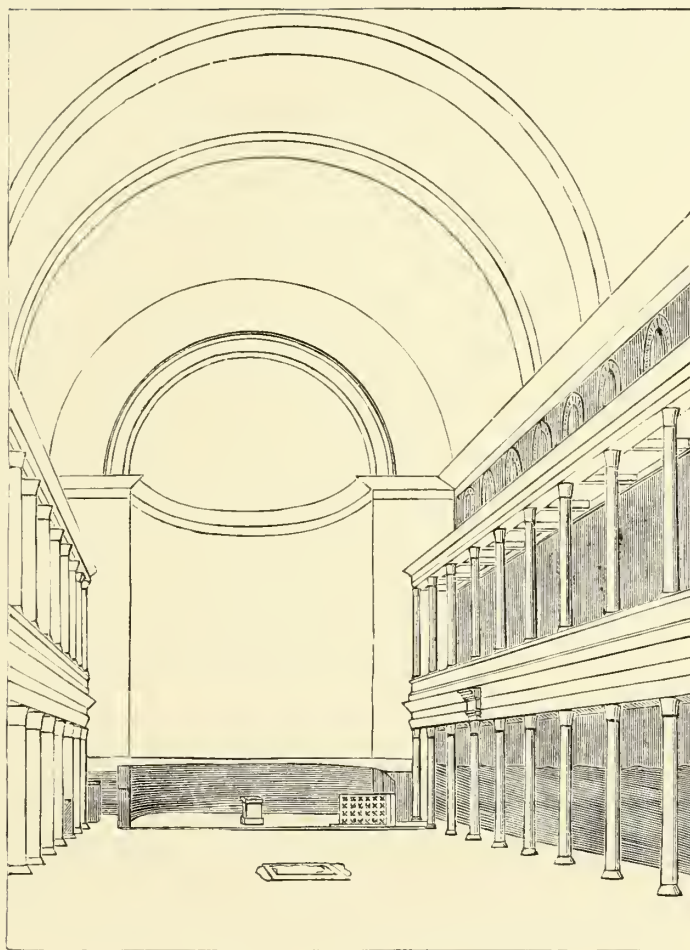
country side by side with the basilican model, until the two merged into one in the larger parish churches of the middle ages.

To this class must be referred the small early churches of Britain and Ireland. These buildings possess one great peculiarity, to which we shall have again to allude. They are always square-ended, and not apsidal. This difference is by no means insignificant. In all the schools of church architecture which trace their origin to Rome or to Byzantium, we find invariably the apsidal termination. There are no ancient churches in Rome without an apse. St. Lorenzo is only an apparent exception, as the original apse was removed by Honorius III., and the arrangements of the church reversed. Throughout the East, at all periods, the same rule prevails, as it does also in Russia. Throughout the continent of western Europe square-ended churches are almost unknown. Wherever roman or byzantine influence has determined the course of architectural development, there we find the apsidal type universal. When we consider the flourishing state of christianity in Britain until the period of the saxon incursions, and its close political connection with Rome during four centuries, it is very remarkable that the type of church prevailing in these isles was not conformed to the roman model, as adopted by Constantine. In these british and irish churches we have evidence of the existence of a tradition earlier than his date, and which we cannot but refer to the very commencement of british christianity. We may remark that in these square-ended churches the altar did not stand in contact with the east wall, but was placed a short distance in advance; and that behind it, along the wall, ran a bench for the bishop and clergy. This we may imagine to have been the arrangement of such oratories as that of St. Clement; and there is, therefore, no *liturgical* distinction between this and the basilican arrangement. The rite was clearly the same in both; but the architectural arrangements which the rite necessitated are differently provided for. The difference of the two plans is of the highest value in witnessing to the *ritual* uniformity which underlies it; and as the two types represent traditions which were distinct and independent even in the fourth century, we can only refer their essential unity of principle to a common origin in the commencement of christianity itself. Both types carry us back to the first institution of the new rite in the upper chamber at Jerusalem. In the bishop or celebrant in the centre we see the representative of our Lord; in the clergy, seated on either side of him, the apostles. In front and facing these, the general crowd of the faithful, who, though none were present at the first institution of the mysteries, were not forgotten in the Saviour's prayer.

The other and grander type of a christian church which prevailed throughout the west, is that termed the basilican. The origin of the name basilica is somewhat doubtful. As the buildings to which the

name was applied by the pagan Romans were used, among other purposes, as law-courts, some have supposed that the name was borrowed from Athens, and was applied originally to the place in which the Basileus Archon held his court. The word is evidently an adjective—the substantive, *stoā*, a colonnade, being understood. It has its latin equivalent in *regia*, where the substantive *porticus* is similarly implied. Both basilica and regia seem to have become recognised expressions for a colonnade, or a building containing colonnades. The roman basilica was originally a sort of smaller forum, open to the air, but surrounded by colonnades, in which merchants and men of business might meet to transact their affairs in greater privacy and comfort than was possible in the forum itself. The earlier pagan basilicas were open to the sky, answering somewhat to the modern exchange. This was probably the case with the great Basilica Julia in the roman Forum. On the other hand, the one which Vitruvius describes as erected by himself at Fano was roofed in, for he speaks of the columns as supporting a *testudo*, and of the necessary provision for the admission of light; but it is evident, from the very awkward manner in which this necessity is met, that a covered basilica was then a novelty, and that the architect had scarcely mastered the problem. The Basilica Jovis upon the palatine, erected by the Flavian emperors, though of great width, was covered by a vaulted roof, and the same was the case with the basilica of Constantine and others. These buildings have sometimes galleries formed under the side colonnades approached by external staircases, and Vitruvius is careful to mention that the balustrades of these galleries must be made sufficiently high, so that persons in the gallery shall not be visible from the floor of the building. The pagan basilicas are frequently described as law-courts. This was not, however, their most important or principal use. They served for the transaction of general business; but, as law-courts were commonly situated in the forum, so, too, they were very common adjuncts to the basilica. To give room for the law-court, and to remove it somewhat from the noise and bustle going on in the body of the building, without abandoning that publicity which was essential, semi-circular recesses were formed at the sides—or more commonly at the ends of the hall—and these were fenced off in some cases from the rest of the building by marble screens, which remain *in situ* in the Basilica Jovis.

Of the great pagan basilicas of Rome we may select four for illustration, as characteristic of different types. First of all comes the great Basilica Julia in the Forum Romanum, of which enough has been excavated to show its immense extent. A splendid double colonnade surrounds a central area about 110 feet wide by 230 feet long. The whole of this vast floor is laid with precious marbles. It is not known whether this forum was covered in or not, though the question might be determined by observing whether there



THE BASILICA JOVIS ON THE PALATINE HILL.

FIG. I. INTERIOR VIEW. FIG. II. GROUND-PLAN.

was provision for removing the rain which would fall upon the floor of the central area if unroofed. I have little doubt, from its immense area, and from the fact of its being unenclosed by any external wall, that it was open to the air.

The next type is afforded us in the Basilica Jovis, erected by Domitian, upon the palatine hill. This was in all probability roofed in, and planned with galleries as shown in the conjectural restoration. This type is the one which most resembles the christian model, and it serves to show to what a small extent the indebtedness extends.^a

The next great model is the Ulpian Basilica. This vast building is enclosed by a wall enriched towards the forum with a portico. It consists, like the Julian Basilica, of a double colonnade surrounding a great central area, but it has at each extremity an immense apse, which no doubt served as a law-court. Between it and the Temple of Trajan, in a small oblong area surrounded by colonnades, stood, and still stands, the column of that emperor: on each side of this court was a library, the one latin, the other greek. That the central area of this vast basilica was roofed in, we may well doubt, when we consider its size, and also the position, relatively to it, of the triumphal column. It must, I think, have been intended that a view of the column should be obtained from the interior of the basilica.

Lastly, we have the Basilica of Constantine. This is particularly interesting to us on account of its date and its builder, and it is certainly very remarkable that of all the secular *roofed* basilicas, this, the erection of the first christian emperor, is the most unlike a christian church. It resembles much more nearly one of the halls of the baths. In the first place, it consists of three immense bays, carried by piers, instead of the numerous narrow bays and closely spaced pillars of the christian basilicas. Then it was vaulted throughout, while they have invariably timber roofs. Again, it has no aisles, properly speaking. There are on each side of it three great apartments which open upon the nave by the three lofty arches already mentioned; and these separate halls, for so they may be considered, are vaulted with barrel vaults at right angles to that of the nave. They are, in fact, a series of vast transepts, and they communicate with each other by arches of quite subordinate importance. There is, moreover, beside the usual apse, another which terminates the central transept of the northern side.

I have dwelt upon these four great examples of the pagan basilica in order to show to what extent the christian basilica owes its origin to that of pagan Rome. It will be seen that among many existing types they selected one alone, and that in that

^a Observe, among other points, the absence of any marked difference in level between the floor of the apse and that of the body of the building. Nothing is more characteristic of the Christian basilica than the great elevation of the pavement of the sanctuary above that of the nave and the crypt thus obtained under the apse, in which "*ipsam sub aram*" the bodies of the martyrs might repose.

they made characteristic changes in adapting it to their own requirements. The apse, which is placed sometimes at the end, sometimes at both ends, and sometimes at the side, in the secular basilicas, they placed invariably at the west end, and opposite to the great entrance. The floor of the apse, which in the pagan basilicas is level or nearly so with that of the body of the building, they raised many feet above the nave floor, and placed below it a crypt in which might be deposited the bodies of the martyrs of the faith. The object of the apse in a pagan basilica was principally retirement. It originated in a wish to place the courts of law somewhat withdrawn from the main area of the building. The object of the christian apse was just the reverse—namely, to place the clergy and the altar in full view of the congregation, and to raise the bishop's throne so that it may command the whole assembly over which he presides. The intention of the two plans seems to me so very distinct, and even opposite, that the resemblance which undoubtedly exists must be attributed entirely to architectural, and not to ritual considerations.

When the peace of the Church was established it was to the basilicas, of the type of that upon the palatine, that the architects very naturally turned as the models most suitable for those large churches, which now for the first time, they were required all over the empire to erect. It is probable, as we have already shown, that this plan had been adopted at an earlier date in the rare case of the erection of a large christian church. Indeed, it is only to such that the basilican plan can apply, since aisles are unnecessary where the building is but of small area.

An important consideration, too, is the fact that this plan had been already adopted very generally by the Jews in the erection of their synagogues, which were planned commonly as basilicas, but without apses. They were, in fact, naves with aisles; and I cannot but suspect that the term basilica, as applied to christian churches, was intended simply to indicate a building constructed with a central nave and colonnades opening into lateral aisles. This is, indeed, the simplest plan by which an area large enough to accommodate a large congregation can be covered in; and it had the additional advantage of facilitating that separation of the sexes, and of the different classes of penitents, which the discipline of the early Church required. The christian architects had, no doubt, in view not only the jewish synagogues, but also the pagan basilicas; but they did not, as is often assumed, borrow their plan from these, and arrange the churches in accordance with a plan which they had copied.

We may, I think, infer from the british and irish churches that the system of arrangement of an early christian church was in existence before the adoption of the basilican plan.

Let us assume as the simplest and earliest form a square-ended chapel, divided by an arch placed very near its eastern end, separating the presbytery

from the nave ; under this an altar ; and behind this, against the end wall, a bench for the bishop and clergy, such as we find in Ireland. When, as the numbers of the faithful increased, it became necessary to enlarge the nave, what more natural than to add aisles ; in imitation, if you please, of the basilicas, or more probably of the synagogue. We have then a plan which is, in fact, a basilica, with a rectangular presbytery, a form actually found among the very early churches of central Syria. The apse was a form peculiarly in vogue in the time immediately preceding and following the reign of Constantine, and a roman architect would be sure, having the pagan basilicas before his eyes, to suggest the conversion of this square recess into the more favoured form of an apse or tribune.

The extent to which the fashion, we may almost say the rage, for apses was carried, may be seen in the early churches of Byzantium, where not the eastern limb only, but all the four arms are finished in the favourite form, and even these again "sprout out," as Mr. Thomas Hope expresses it, "into lesser apses." The apse is in fact the form which the architects of the fourth century gave to the presbytery, which as taking its origin from a room-like oratory, was probably originally square ; and the resemblance to the pagan basilica is the result not of a deliberate imitation of an existing model by men who had no traditional type to work by, but rather of a constant approximation towards a plan, every day before the eyes of the architects, which agreed so nearly with that towards which the natural development of christian tradition was tending.

It is very doubtful whether any pagan basilicas were actually converted into christian churches.

The two generally mentioned as such are the *Lateran* and the *Sessorian*, now *Santa Croce*. Of the former, the *Lateran* basilica, we are informed that Constantine assisted with his own hands in digging out the foundations. Of *Santa Croce* we are told that earth was brought from Jerusalem to be mixed with the soil on which it was to be built, from which its title, *Santa Croce* in *Gerusalemme*, is derived. These facts if true, refute the notion that they were merely converted pagan buildings : while Eusebius' account of the church at Tyre seems to show that the so-called basilican plan had at any rate been adopted by the Church at an earlier date.

It was natural enough that christian architects should look to these buildings as in some degree models, because of their essentially public character. They were places as public as the forum, and yet many of them covered in : they provided for the tribunal of a magistrate, just as the church required the throne for its *episcopos* ; and for the administration of public justice, just as the church was the place for the enforcement of penance and discipline. What they needed they found provided here in the basilica, as they did not find it in the halls of the *Thermae*, still less in the narrow adyta of the temples ; and it is natural that to these build-

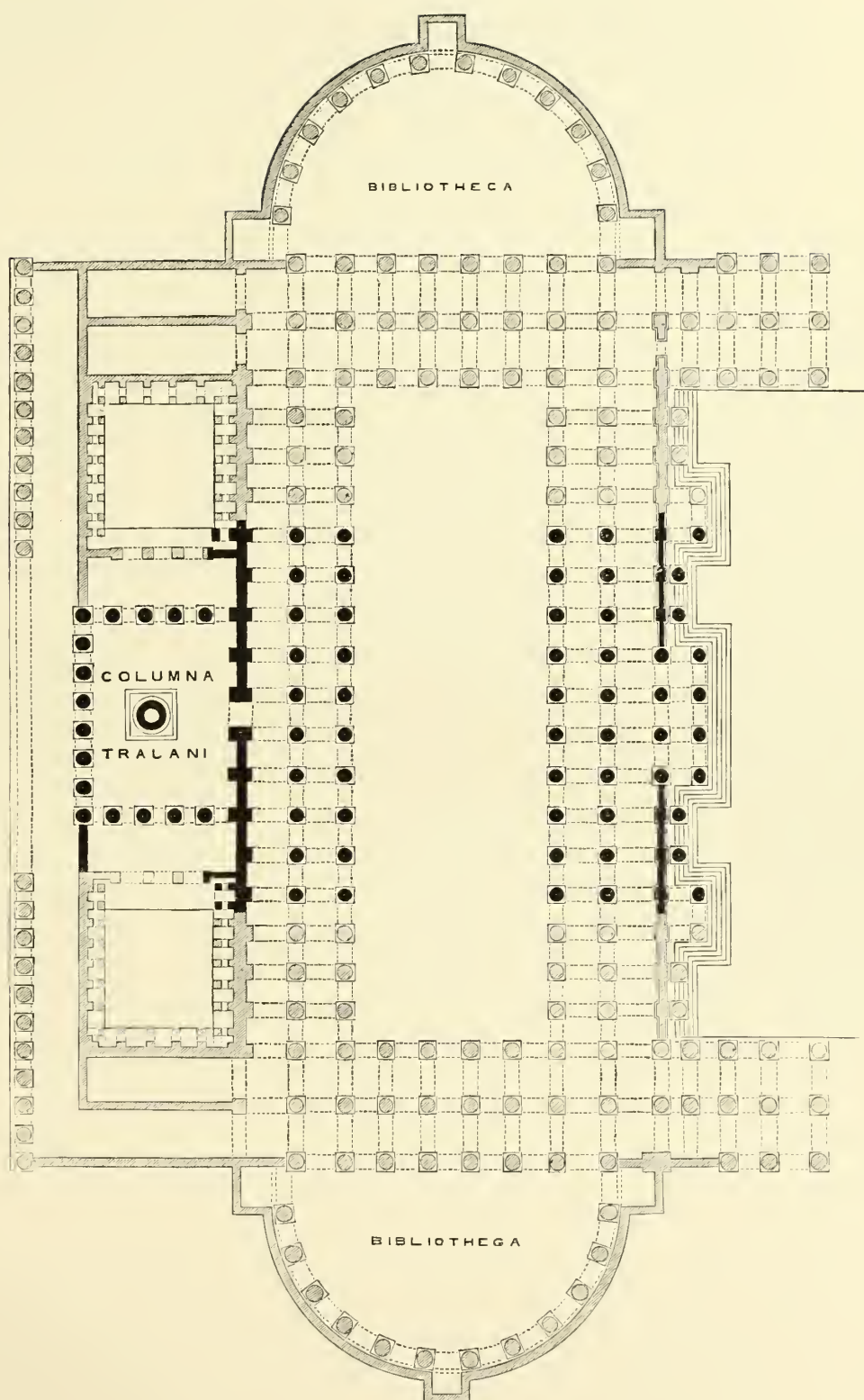
ings they should have looked, when it became necessary to enlarge upon the simple early model, in accordance with the growing needs of a larger community. The type thus adopted spread over the whole of the empire, and survived with various modifications until the early middle ages.

It is, however, worth noting that Constantine did not, invariably, adopt the basilican model at Byzantium. It would appear that many of the churches erected by him and his successors in the East were built upon the plan of a greek cross with surmounting domes. Examples of the basilican model are, of course, to be found in the East ; but it was not, as in the West, the prevailing type.

This Byzantine plan has its examples in the West, in the churches of *Perigueux* and, above all, in *St. Mark's*, at *Venice* : but the course of our inquiry will follow rather the development of the essentially western and latin original.

The vigour and freedom of the new religion soon produced its effect upon the style and arrangements which had been adopted in some degree from the pagans. As regards style, Mr. Hope says, "The architecture of the heathen Romans, in its deterioration, followed so regular a course that that which most nearly preceded the conversion of its rulers to christianity is also the worst : " while the early christian buildings, "from their simplicity, the distinctness, the magnificence, the harmony of their component parts, have a grandeur which we seek in vain in the complicated architecture of modern churches."

The simplest type of the christian basilica is exhibited in such churches as *St. Sabina* upon the *Aventine*, *St. Nereus* and *Achilles*, *St. Clement*, and others. A simple nave with aisles, terminating in an apse, the floor of which is raised above the level of the pavement of the nave : in advance of the apse is the altar : in advance of which, again, raised but little above the nave floor, is the enclosed area for the inferior clergy. The aisles are separated from the nave by rows of columns. These, in most of the existing basilicas, have been borrowed from the remains of earlier buildings, possibly from destroyed temples, often "offering in their size, materials, and workmanship every possible difference ; here raised to the requisite height by the addition of some spurious part, there reduced to it by the abstraction of an essential one." The columns are connected either by arches, as is generally the case, or by a continuous entablature in the classic manner, as at *St. Lorenzo* and *Santa Maria Maggiore*. Above this rises the clerestory wall, pierced with simple round-headed windows. In other cases, as at *St. Laurence* and *St. Agnes*, there is placed above the main arches a second and subordinate tier, forming a gallery. This was not a mere triforium under the roof, as in a gothic church, but an upper aisle of equal dimensions with that below it, and with its own range of windows. Both in *St. Agnes* and *St. Laurence* the aisle with its gallery is returned across the eastern or entrance end of the church.



BASILICA ULPIA.
GROUND-PLAN.

The roofs are of timber, and of rather low pitch. Their construction is simply practical, and there is little or no attempt to give to them an ornamental character. I am of opinion that the addition of a flat wooden ceiling, coffered or otherwise enriched, was always contemplated. An open timber roof of so plain and homely a character does not seem to me at all roman in feeling; and I cannot but think that the magnificent carved wooden ceilings with which many of the ancient basilicas have been ornamented since the Renaissance, are more in keeping with the sort of effect aimed at by the original builders, and represent more nearly their intention than do the naked timbers of the untouched churches.

That the earliest christian basilicas had such ceilings, in some cases at least, we know as a fact from the description which Eusebius gives of the church erected by Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre, where the coffered and gilded ceiling is expressly dwelt upon. In connection with this, the following passage in Constantine's letter to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, is interesting and pertinent: "With respect," says the Emperor, "to the roof of the church, I wish to know from you whether, in your judgment, it should be ceiled or finished with any other kind of work." (The alternative was no doubt the byzantine domical construction.) "If the ceiling be adopted, it may also be ornamented with gold. You will be careful to send us a report without delay, not only respecting the marbles and columns, but the ceiling also, should this appear to you to be the most beautiful form."^b

We must remember that such ceilings, where they did form part of the original design, would often be postponed, and where they were actually put up, that they would be the first part of the structure to suffer from decay. Where from fire or from lapse of time it became necessary to renew or to repair the roofs during the dark ages, it is probable enough that both the skill and the wish to restore the decorated ceilings might alike be wanting. Most probably all of the timber roofs now remaining must be of much later date than the structures which they cover; and though they no doubt represent fairly the original construction and arrangement of the timbers, we may probably refer to the later date those few ornamental features, which seem inconsistent with the intention of placing a ceiling below them.

We have a strong confirmation of the view I have expressed in those churches of the romanesque and early pointed period in this country and in Germany, in which the nave was not vaulted. In these we find that the timber roof was not exposed to view, but was under-drawn by a flat boarded ceiling enriched by painting. As examples of this treatment, which was quite the rule in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I may instance the naves of Peterborough Cathedral, and of St. Michael's at Hildesheim, in Hanover.

^b Eusebius' "Life of Constantine," iii., 32.

This simple plan of the basilica was elaborated in the larger churches in two ways. The first is the introduction of a transept between the nave and the apse. This is a plan not found, as far as I am aware, in the pagan basilicas, where, indeed, there was no motive of convenience to prompt its adoption. In the christian basilica it had the obvious advantage of giving increased space for the assisting faithful, immediately about the altar and the apse. This transept differed in one respect from the transepts of medieval times—it was not spanned by cross arches, continuing the line of the nave arches. It was, in fact, a great cross-nave placed at right angles to the nave proper and its aisles, which opened into it by arches. This arrangement is retained in the church of Santa Croce at Florence, erected in the thirteenth century. It is found in St. John Lateran, Santa Maria Maggiore, and in St. Paul's without the walls.

The other mode of enlargement is the addition on each side of the church of a second aisle. This was the arrangement of St. John Lateran before it was, I think we may say, disfigured by Borromini: it was that of St. Peter's before it was rebuilt; and that of St. Paul's without the walls, which before the disastrous fire of 1823, could boast of an assemblage of columns amounting to no less than 138, most of them ancient, and forming by far the finest collection in the world. This church has, happily, been rebuilt upon the original plan, and in the most magnificent manner; and the effect of the four ranges of granite monolith columns, twenty in each row, is something quite unparalleled.

In all the basilicas one great feature of the interior was the arch which formed the entrance to the apse and divided it from the nave, or in the larger churches from the transept. This was known as the triumphal arch. Upon its face, and upon the semi-dome behind it, by which the apse is covered in, we find expended the utmost elaboration of enrichment which the architects could command.

The arrangements of churches of the basilican type differ from those of later times, both of eastern and western Christendom, in several important particulars; in some of which, and indeed in the general principle of their distribution, the british and early irish churches, as we have already seen, agree with them.

In the first place, one very characteristic feature is the narthex, a colonnade or cloister abutting upon the principal façade, from which opened the great entrances to the church. Where this narthex took the form of a colonnade, curtains were suspended between its columns, as we see represented in a mosaic in San Apollinare at Ravenna. In other cases, as at St. Clement's, we find it as a cloister or quadriporticus. The same was its plan at St. Cecilia, in the church of Santi Quattro Coronati, and in other early basilicas. A tradition of it is preserved in the magnificent vestibule through which one approaches the nave of the Vatican Basilica, and the church of St. Ambrose at

Milan retains one of later date. We may view this feature as bearing to the christian basilica somewhat the same relation in which the Forum stood to the pagan basilica. Whilst it served to give greater seclusion to the church itself, it was open to the public and to penitents of the lower degrees, who, thus exposed to the inclemency of the weather, received the name of *Hyemantes*. Burials, too, were permitted here, before they came to be tolerated within the sacred edifice. The entrance to the church itself was permitted only to those in full communion, or to penitents suffering under lighter censures.

The effect of the interior of these buildings is always one of great grandeur and solemnity. There is a noble feeling of space and openness which is full of character, and is in marked contrast with the effect of a gothic, or even a romanesque interior. With a remarkable expression of gravity and repose, there is yet something cheerful and happy in the tone of the whole, which is very different from the austere and somewhat ascetic severity of a romanesque building, or the mysterious and poetical effect of a gothic minster. This is due in part, no doubt, to the character of the classic style; but I think that it must be attributed, in a considerable degree, to the bright and hopeful tone of christianity exulting in the freedom of its first great triumph.

The basilica was to the early christian much more than our churches are to us. It was the home of the great christian family, the assembly-hall of the society, the forum of the city of God—*civitas dei*. The expression of this purpose is the great glory of the basilica, though it inspires to some extent all the great works of christian art. From it alone has come, and can come, a truly dignified type of church architecture. The true idea of the basilica, as of every other form of the christian church, is not that of a mere place of worship, but that of an *ecclesia*, the meeting-place of the christian society as such, and for all the purposes of its corporate life. It has been reserved for modern times to part entirely with this grand notion of the *christian public-place*, and to substitute for it that of a building in which, for a population of so many thousand souls, there may be provided so many hundred sittings.

On an elevated platform, occupying the apse and advancing more or less into the nave, were ranged against the curved wall the seats of the clergy; in the centre of which the throne of the bishop was erected. Here, raised high above the crowd of the faithful, sat the father and the rulers of the Church, in solemn dignity, presiding over the christian assembly.

This arrangement seems to be very expressive of the high position which the clergy occupied in the system of the early church. Almost all the alterations in church arrangement, which were gradually effected during the middle ages, are in the direction of reducing the position assigned to the clergy to one of less dignity and importance. The seats of the presbyters were gradually removed

from the apse to a choir formed in the body of the church, into what was, in the basilicas, the place of the inferior clergy only; and the bishop was left alone in the centre of the apse. As time went on the bishops too began to leave their position of pre-eminent dignity, and descended to humbler thrones at one side of the choir. Many of the rites of the Roman Pontifical belong evidently to this early position of the bishop's throne, and become somewhat laboured and less natural now that the throne has shifted its site.

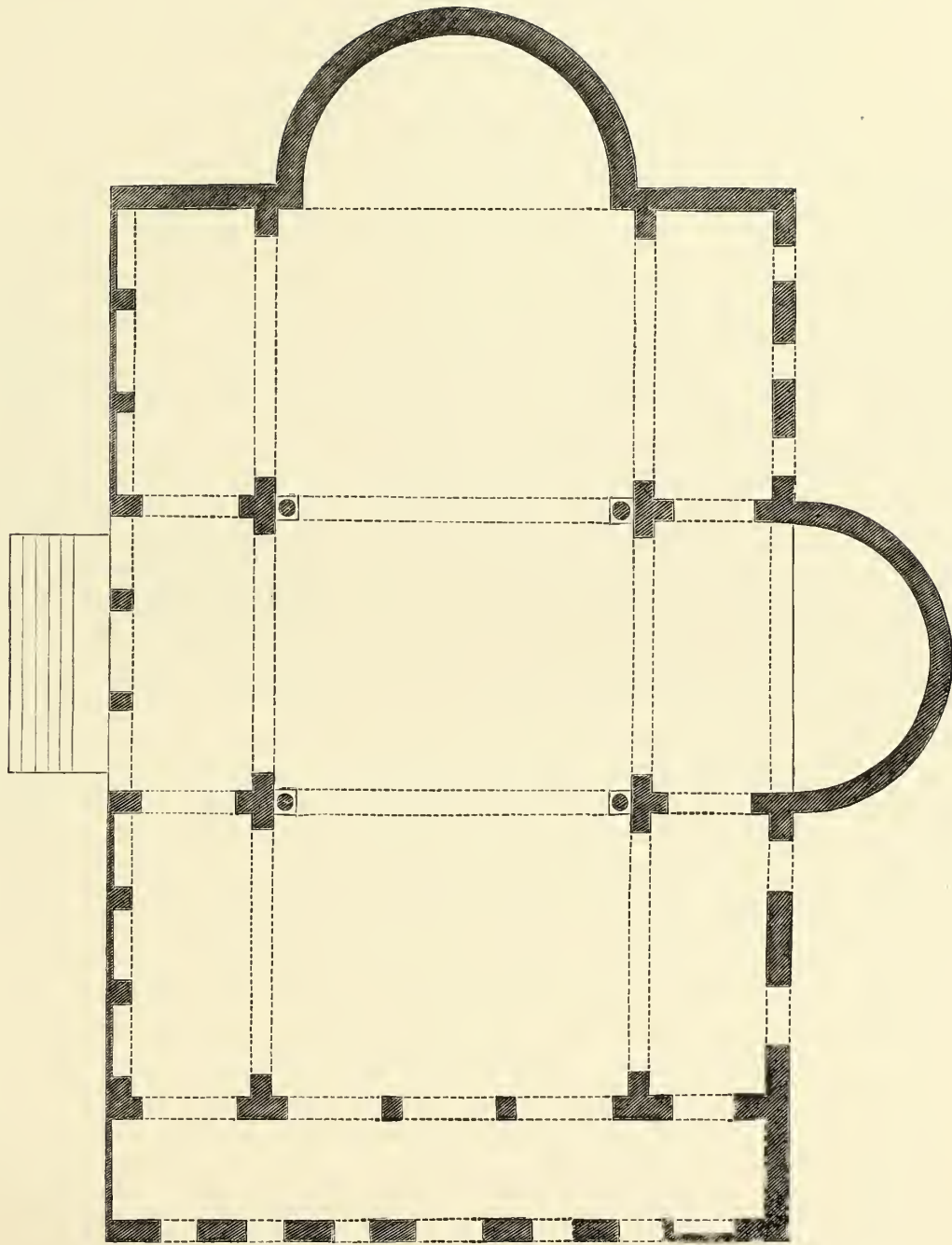
At Canterbury the archiepiscopal seat remained in its primitive dignity, in rear of the altar, almost to our own day. It was only some forty years ago that Archbishop Howley abandoned this last relic of primitive custom, and modestly withdrew his throne from a position of dignity, felt perhaps to be unreal, to a more humble situation in the choir.

In advance of the apse, and immediately in front of the bishop, stood the altar, in full view of all the assistance, the centre and *omphalos* of the whole design. The celebrant stood with his back to the bishop (when he was not the bishop himself) and his face towards the great assembly.

It is a peculiarity of the basilican plan that its orientation is almost always the reverse of that adopted generally in the middle ages, and which is usual in our modern churches. The narthex and the principal entrances were at the east end, the apse and the altar toward the west. The celebrant, therefore, while he faced the people, faced also towards the east. This is, as is well known, the arrangement of the great Vatican Basilica, but it was also the arrangement of the ancient St. Peter's and of most of the primitive churches. In some, indeed, from necessities of site or other causes, orientation is more or less disregarded, but it may be laid down as the rule that where orientated at all the churches of primitive times are placed with their altars at the west end, and their entrance towards the east.

How this plan came in later times to be reversed is not quite clear; but we may see possibly the mode of the transition in those churches of the sixth and later centuries, which are built with an apse and an altar at each extremity. This plan is not at all uncommon in the Rhenish provinces. It was the plan of the original church at Clermont, to which Gregory of Tours alludes; and it was also, as we shall see, the plan of the church erected by St. Augustine at Canterbury.

In this early position of the officiant facing the congregation, we seem to see, as in the arrangement of the throne of the bishop and the seats of the presbyters, an expression of the unique dignity of the clergy, which is rather diminished by the changes brought about during the middle ages. The celebrant in the basilican arrangement stands before the people, performing an act to which he is competent and they are not. As time went on, the position was reversed. The celebrant retained all along his primitive position, standing upon the western side of the altar, and facing east, but the



BASILICA OF MAXENTIUS AND CONSTANTINE.
GROUND-PLAN.

position of the congregation was gradually reversed. In the medieval arrangement, the people are in the rear of the priest, and the change gives to the rite itself a somewhat different expression. The celebrant no longer stands fronting the congregation, who are virtually spectators of his action: he has become rather one of them—their leader, their mouthpiece, their representative. It is not that he has come to turn his back to the people: that is quite a false way of regarding the change. He now faces the *same way* that they do: he has come down from a position of perhaps too exalted isolation to one more modest and more paternal. In the basilican plan, the idea which seems to be brought out most prominently is the peculiar prerogative of the christian ministry. In the medieval arrangement it is rather the concurrence, of priest and people together, in an act in which each have their proper part, and each their appropriate function.

I cannot but remark, in passing, that in the change in the position of the holy table introduced by the english Reformers, and still ordered by the rubrics of the Prayer Book, the traditional position of the celebrant in relation to the holy altar was not departed from. The table is directed to be placed with its ends east and west, a sort of compromise between the basilican and the medieval systems, but the priest still stood as ever in the middle of the long side of the table, but facing now to the south instead of, as hitherto, toward the east. Down to the middle of the seventeenth century, the relative position of the celebrant and the altar had never been varied. The position at one end of the table, which became common during the eighteenth century, and still prevails among us, was unknown alike to the Reformers, to the Medieval, and to the Primitive Church.

In the basilica the holy table was provided with curtains, which were drawn during the recital of the prayer of consecration (the canon), and drawn back at its completion. This custom seems to be of a venerable antiquity, and some have even seen a reference to it, or a quotation in allusion to it, from one of the early liturgies, in a passage in St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians (ii. 9).^c However this may be, the custom gave rise to a very characteristic feature of the basilica—I mean the baldachino.

It was a very natural change to substitute for the four supports, which carried this veil or curtain at the corners of the holy table, four pillars of marble surmounted by arches bearing a domed roof. The name baldachino itself shows what was the original intention of the erection to which it is applied. Baldacco is the italian of Bagdad, and baldachino appears to have been the name used to designate a rich silken fabric manufactured at that place, and imported into Europe as an article of luxury. We have a parallel to this in our own use of the word "damask," derived from the silken fabrics of Da-

mascus. The curtains of Bagdad manufacture gave their name to the erection which was designed to support them. In early wall-paintings and mosaics these curtains are frequently shown knotted round the pillars of the baldachino.

The same custom prevailed, as we know from illuminations in this country, in Anglo-Saxon times. We may, perhaps, attribute to it the curious fact that there was no elevation of the Host, as now understood, in the Anglo-Saxon ritual. When the whole action of consecration was concealed by curtains there was no opportunity for this custom. The elements were raised in token of their oblation to God, but they were not raised on high to be seen by the people, from whom the whole act was hidden by a veil, as it is in the Eastern Church by a solid iconostasis.

Although the original use of the baldachino has long been obsolete in the Western Church, a tradition of it still survives in those imitations of silken valances cast in bronze, in questionable taste, which we see in the altar-canopies of Santa Maria Maggiore and of St. Peter's. Another relic of them may be found in the side curtains with which mediæval altars were invariably provided, the pillars to support which remain affixed to the shrine of St. Edward in Westminster Abbey. We may see another trace of the custom in what is termed the *Lenten Veil*. In our mediæval churches a curtain was drawn across the chancel in front of the altar during the whole of the mass in Lent, with the exception only of the Gospel; hooks to suspend this curtain may still sometimes be observed in our old churches.

As the early churches were almost always erected over the tomb of a martyr, or contained at least some relic of one, a sort of crypt was formed for the reception of the tomb or reliquary immediately under the altar. This was termed the confessionalary. Examples of this very common arrangement may be found at Rome, in the basilicas of St. Laurence, St. Cecilia, and St. Cæsarius, and in a more modernized form in St. Peter's and St. Martin's. Other instances are to be found at Ancona, at Ravenna, at Torcello, at Verona, Vicenza, Parma, Florence, Milan, and elsewhere. Some have judged this custom to be so early as to see an allusion to it in those souls of the martyrs whom St. John, in the Apocalypse, "saw under the altar" (vi. 9). The tradition is maintained under a changed form in the crypts which so many of our mediæval cathedrals contain.

In front of the altar and the confessionalary was the choir of the inferior clergy and singers. This was raised but little above the floor of the nave, and was enclosed by low marble screens, so that it did not in any way obstruct the view of the altar and the apse. The best preserved example of this arrangement is that of St. Clement's. There is no doubt that the screens and ambos are earlier than the existing church. They bear the monogram—as is supposed—of Pope John II., and are, therefore, of the early part of the sixth century: they stood, no

^c See on this question Neale's "Essays on Liturgiology," p. 414; and Hammond's "Antient Liturgies," p. 9.

doubt, originally in the lower church recently discovered, and to which I have already referred. The interesting cathedral of Torcello, in the Venetian Lagunes, retains this enclosure or cancellum, and at St. Laurence, without the walls of Rome, and at St. Mary, in Cosmedin, the platforms and ambos remain, though the enclosure has, unfortunately, been removed.

The most characteristic ornaments of the basilicas were the mosaic work^d which adorned the apse and the triumphal arch, and the richly inlaid pavements which formed their floors. The earliest christian use of mosaic work is to be seen in the baptistery erected by Constantine near the church of St. Agnes. The vaults of this octagonal building are ornamented with work of this kind, representing, upon a white ground, the processes of the viatage, symbolical, as it is thought, of christian good works. But every basilica which has retained its old decorations shows us the conch, or semidome of the apse thus ornamented, and almost always upon a ground of gold. The excessive use of this mode of decoration was due in part no doubt to that decay of the art of sculpture, which we trace only too clearly in the arch of Constantine, and in the pedestal of the obelisk erected by Theodosius in the hippodrome at Constantinople, which is, as Mr. Hope expresses it, "a wretched performance;" but we must attribute it also to that dislike to sculptured representations which the early Church undoubtedly felt, and which the eastern Church has never overcome. The finest example of this system of decoration, combined with the use of marble veneers, is undoubtedly the interior of St. Mark's at Venice, but the great church of Justinian, St. Sophia at Constantinople, must have been even a more magnificent specimen, "before the Turks, extending their hatred of images, even to those produced by mere colour, had concealed the whole under an indiscriminating coat of whitewash." I need not, however, dwell upon this fine mode of enrichment, nor upon the modifications which its use gradually introduced into the architectural treatment of churches, because it was never naturalized in this country nor influenced those foreign styles which have affected our own.

Another decoration of the basilicas to which I would allude is the "opus græcum," itself a kind of marble mosaic, with which their pavements were so generally adorned. This differs in character from the tessellated pavement of more classic times in the large use made of white marble. The patterns formed with small pieces of porphyry, *verre antique*, and other rich marbles, were inlaid into slabs of white: the whole producing a snowy delicacy which is quite unequalled. No one who has not seen these most charming works can have any idea of the beauty and refinement of the effect which they produce. The large amount of white marble which they contain has much to do with their peculiar charm. This may be seen by con-

^d Opus musivum.

trast with the pavement of similar work which exists before the high altar in Westminster Abbey. This was executed under the incumbency of Abbot Ware in the 13th century, by a certain Odericus. An inscription upon it mentions, as concerned in its construction—"Urbs (Rome, that is) Odericus et Abbas," and the slab under which Abbot Ware lies buried states, quaintly enough, that here in his stone coffin he continues to bear up the pavement which he had brought himself from Rome, "Hic portat lapides quos huc portavit ab urbe." The abbot did not, of course, import the marble blocks into which the patterns were to be inlaid, but only the smaller pieces of more precious marbles which form the design. Odericus, here in England, found himself without the beautiful white marble of the Apennines, and he had to content himself with its english equivalent, the grey fossil marble of Purbeck. This floor has therefore an entirely different effect from those of which I have spoken in the roman basilicas, and though in every way admirable, it lacks, of course, their peculiar charm. Work of similar character may be found in the floor of St. Edward's chapel, behind the high altar, in St. Thomas' chapel, at Canterbury, and in the chapel of the almshouses at Ripon: this latter example, however, more resembles the tessellated roman work than the "opus græcum" of the basilicas.

There was yet another use of mosaic, and this of the most delicate description, in the adornment of the altars and marble fittings of these early churches. Upon these was employed the most refined variety of this mode of decoration. "The altar," says Mr. Hope, "the bishop's throne, the ambos, and the screens and balustrades of the sanctuary glittered with this magnificent coating: for in those members which, like the slender shafts of pillars and the small fasciæ of friezes and cornices, left not room for the larger compartments of solid porphyry and serpentine, the narrower ribands of purple and gold were still inserted." We find the same use of mosaic in the graceful cloisters of St. John Lateran and of St. Paul without the walls, and we are not without english examples of the same method. In the tomb of Henry III., at Westminster, and the substructure which still bears aloft the shrine of the Confessor, we find the same employment of glass mosaics, but inlaid into Purbeck marble.

It will be interesting, after this account of the basilica, as we know it from existing remains, to advert to the descriptions which Eusebius has given us of two out of the numerous churches erected by Constantine, both of which were on the basilican model.

The first is the great church erected by that emperor at Tyre. The account is contained in a sermon preached by Eusebius himself on the occasion of the dedication of this magnificent building.

In this interesting description of the very church in which the Bishop of Cæsarea was preaching^e we

^e A translation of it will be found in a subsequent discursus, as also of the same prelate's description of the church of the Holy Sepulchre.



BASILICA OF STS. NEREUS AND ACHILLES.

INTERIOR VIEW.

find all the features of the typical basilica. We cannot but regret that the preacher should, very naturally, have thought it unnecessary, as he says, "to detail minutely its skilful architectural arrangements, and the exceeding beauty of each of its parts, when" to his audience, but not, alas, to us, "the testimony of the eyes renders unnecessary instruction by the ear." Still the account he has given is sufficient to enable us to realize with considerable accuracy the distribution of the whole.

We find in the first place a vestibule or portico facing toward the east, opening by wide gates upon the narthex. This is described as a sort of cloister, open in the centre to the air, and having in its midst a fountain. The original Vatican basilica had a similar portico to the eastward of its narthex or atrium. Three great portals open from this cloister into the nave, which is described as having double aisles, so that it resembled in its amplitude the ancient St. Peter's and the restored basilica of St. Paul without the walls.

The nave had, as was usual, a clerestory. Its windows were protected from the weather, not by glass, which was then too valuable to be used commonly for glazing,^f but by pierced wooden panels, as is customary at the present day, in the east, and examples of which, of saxon and early norman date, may occasionally be found in this country.^g In the apse was the throne of the bishop to whom the preacher, turning himself no doubt toward the prelate, addresses a graceful compliment—"In him, the chief of all, Christ himself resides, perhaps, in his fulness." On either side of the *cathedra* were the subordinate thrones of the clergy, "seats for angels," as Eusebius, with an evident allusion to the Apocalypse, terms them. In its centre stood the altar, "noble, grand, and unique," at which is offered "sweet incense," and the "unbloody and immaterial sacrifice." The arrangement is clearly that which may still be seen at St. Clement's, or at Torcello, while the beauty of the pavement of the church is also alluded to, covered, as it no doubt was, with that *opus græcum* of which I have already spoken.

An account of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, also erected by Constantine, is given us by Eusebius in his life of that emperor. This great basilica had also, facing toward the east, a stately entrance or vestibule, which opened upon an atrium, surrounded as usual by colonnades. From this three doorways "placed exactly east" gave entrance to the church itself. The nave, as in the case of the basilica at Tyre, had double aisles, "corresponding in length with the church itself."

The body of the church was of great height, and had no doubt a clerestory, although this is not in so many words mentioned. It is described as paved with marbles, no doubt of the beautiful

opus græcum, and what is particularly interesting, the ceiling of both nave and aisles was of wood, coffered, and enriched with carving and gilding. This church at least had not that naked, open, roof which contrasts so crudely with the stateliness of proportion of many of the existing basilicas, and which, I believe, no ancient church was ever designed to exhibit. At the western end of the building was the apse, the "crowning feature of the whole work," containing the thrones of the clergy and the altar.

In front of the sanctuary and the altar were twelve columns having silver bowls upon them. This arrangement, which in itself is somewhat obscure, is explained by what we know of the similar distribution in the old St. Peter's. Here, as at Jerusalem, were twelve columns of Parian marble of a special form and sculptured with vine leaves. Their bases were connected by walls of marble, breast-high, so as to shut in the space immediately in front of the confessional, and the ascent to the altar. The entrance to this was through the centre pair of columns, where were doors of lattice work in metal. On the capitals of these columns were laid entablatures of wood, on which were placed images, candelabra, and other costly gifts. Eight of these venerable columns are preserved in the existing church, having been employed by Bernini in the decoration of the four upper niches of the great piers of the dome. This account explains perfectly the arrangement which is described by Eusebius as adopted by Constantine in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. We have here the first form of the rood screen: a screen not unlike this, but of later date, still exists in St. Mark's at Venice.

Behind the apse, extended a great cloister, which reached to, and in fact enclosed the Sepulchre itself.

It will be observed that in both of these basilicas the entrance is expressly stated to have faced towards the east.

There exists in central Syria a very interesting series of early christian churches, many of them of great magnificence, which have only lately been brought to light. As examples of the character of the edifices dedicated to religion in the earlier ages of christianity, they are of unique value, and I am glad to have this opportunity of calling attention to them, because they have been till recently comparatively unknown.

What may be the date of the earliest of them we do not know, but we do know that the latest of them was erected before the end of the sixth century, when the Mohammedan invasion swept away, not only the christianity and the culture of the whole district in which they are situated, but the population itself. Since that dire catastrophe, the country, once among the most prosperous portions of the eastern Empire, has remained almost without inhabitants, and beyond the pale of civilization. It has recently been explored by the Count de Vogué, who has published measured drawings of its most interesting monuments.

^f The ancient windows of San Miniato, at Florence, are to this day closed by slabs of translucent alabaster.

^g This early system of excluding the weather is still retained in many of our old belfries.

This district extends from the frontiers of Asia Minor northwards, to the Dead Sea southwards, and is bounded, on the one side by Palestine, and on the other by the desert. The southern portion of this district was reduced to a roman province A.D. 105, and although there are perhaps few, if any, churches there which can be attributed to dates earlier than that of Constantine, yet the great number and perfect condition of the remains of churches, all constructed previously to the Mohammedan invasion, makes the series one of remarkable interest. "One almost refuses," says the Count de Vogué, "to give the name of ruins to towns well nigh untouched, or of which the elements, though thrown down sometimes by earthquakes, are never dispersed. Here one finds the monuments of a christian community, working under the most favourable conditions of security and of wealth. One finds oneself transported into the midst of a christian society, one catches a glimpse of its life—not here the hidden life of the catacombs, but a life large, opulent, and artistic."

The earliest dated examples are of the fourth century. The latest bears the date of 565. Then all stops. The Mohammedan invasion swept across the country, and ever since it has been abandoned to the desert and the Bedouin. "Islamism here," says the Count, "as elsewhere, shows itself as a terrible scourge—drying up the springs of all intellectual and moral life, and casting an entire society out of its natural course."

From this terrible calamity we may glean so much of consolation, that the churches and buildings remain to us just as the affrighted inhabitants left them, uninjured by the hand of violence or restoration, and in a climate so fine, but little worn by weather.

These churches are scarcely less valuable from the point of view of architectural history than as monuments of early ecclesiology. They exhibit, in a very striking manner, the new life which christianity breathed into the dying art of the pagan world. We have seen something of this revivifying vigour in the striking contrast presented to us in Rome itself, between the last efforts of the effete pagan tradition and the fresh life which animates the earliest christian monuments.

There is a rudeness and barbarism of decaying civilization, and there is a rudeness and barbarism of a civilization too fresh and young to have got its materials into shape. There is childhood, for ever charming, and there is its sad caricature, the second childhood of impotence and decay. But only once in the evolution of our race has the latter been, through some divine inworking, transmitted, as by a miracle of history, into the former.

Had the Mohammedan invasion not occurred, the progress of the architectural art would have been accelerated by some six centuries, as a comparison between these works, inspired by the new christian sentiment, in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the western romanesque of the middle ages, abundantly proves.

Rome, though its christianity was assured by the labours and the martyrdom of the two chiefs of the Apostolic College, "lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death not divided," was yet essentially the pagan city. It was in Rome that the old religion died hardest, and a new Rome on the Bosphorus was founded by the first christian emperor, to be the metropolis of the newly christianised empire. In Rome, therefore, we find evidence of a persistence of the classical traditions—not so much anti-christian, as somewhat stolidly conservative in sentiment—which obstructed the free action of that new artistic element which the new religion brought with it. The essential life and vigour of christianity it could not repress. "Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia," is the very law of its being. But the venerable monuments of classical antiquity, by which, in Rome, it was surrounded, and the atmosphere of old conservatism which it breathed, deprived it of the power of initiating a new style, though it could not prevent it from giving a new life to the old one, which it was forced to adopt. It thus came about that, until almost the end of the fifteenth century of our era, the artistic progress of western christendom was carried on, not only apart from but even counter to, the traditions of its ecclesiastical centre.

In other parts of the empire however the artistic elements of the new religion had a more free scope, and this was the case conspicuously in central Syria.

This province was a comparatively new one. Its population had not long received the impress of roman civilization before it began to feel within its veins the circulation of the new blood of christianity. At Rome the "new wine" of the Gospel was put into the "old bottles" of an expiring civilization. In the country with which we are now concerned the "new wine" was put into "new bottles," and has preserved something of its aroma to our own day.

The new religion appears to have produced in this, then new, province, its full and natural effect. Its task was not, as in Rome and in Italy, to give a fresh lease of life to a still existing, but moribund, tradition. It had here the opportunity of creating out of elements, themselves new, under the new and vigorous conditions of its new life, a new style. The result is most remarkable. We find anticipated, in a series of buildings, many of great merit, the latest of which we know to have been completed before 565, architectural developments and even ecclesiastical arrangements, which in western Europe and in our own country were not reached before the twelfth century.

The style of these edifices is romanesque rather than byzantine, but it is the romanesque without its rudeness. The execution is finished, the design is of very refined character, and the style is a sort of free classic, the form of which is derived from pagan antiquity, but whose spirit is christian and modern. It is certainly most striking to find in the

centre of Syria, in what is now a desert, almost as waste as that which surrounds the ruins of Palmyra (situated but a little further eastward^h), and scarcely known but to the wandering Bedouin, buildings, secular and religious, of a new and noble style of architecture, for the parallels to which, in western christendom, we must turn to the romanesque of six centuries later. How sad that so early and hopeful a developement of christian art should have been arrested so soon by an overwhelming catastrophe!

Its ruin is but another instance of what the world has lost at the hands of Islamism, and of the retrogression which everywhere accompanied its triumph. While the latin church has known how to convert its barbarian invaders, and its architecture has received at their hands that new life, which bore such rich fruit in the middle ages, the eastern church, on the contrary, was beaten down, and its ancient art, just budding out afresh, was hopelessly withered, by the blighting storm of the Mohammedan incursion.

^h *Baalbek* is in the centre of the district, and nearer to seaboard than most of the christian remains.

Whatever art has been produced under the rule of Islam, apart from those branches of it—embroidery and weaving and such-like, which are common to all the eastern nations—has been either actually the work of byzantine christians employed by Mohammedan masters, or a poor corruption of byzantine forms.ⁱ

An account of some of these churches will be found in a subsequent discursus. With this notice of a very remarkable group of buildings, but little known to antiquaries, our review of the architecture of the primitive church, as constituting the basis of an investigation into the history of that of our own church and own country may conclude. In the next chapter I shall address myself more directly to the history of british and english ecclesiology.

ⁱ Even the pointed and the horse-shoe form of arch, with the invention of which the Saracens have sometimes been credited, were employed long before by christian architects, and are to be found in churches of the sixth and seventh centuries in Syria, Armenia, and upon the Euphrates. See "Texier and Pullan's Byzantine Architecture," p. 147, and also the drawings of the Church of Ezra in De Vogüé, "Syrie Centrale," pl. 21.

DISCURSUS

ON THE ORIENTATION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

IN churches of the medieval period the sanctuary, as is notorious, is placed at the eastern end of the building, and the officiant priest, facing eastward, has his back toward the congregation, or, speaking more exactly,^a faces in the same direction as they.

In the early christian basilicas the sanctuary was, as a rule, placed at the western end of the church. The priest at the altar, then as in the middle ages facing eastward, had his face towards the people.

In other words, the celebrant has, at all periods, faced eastward, while the people, who in early times were before the priest and facing westward, are in later times placed behind the priest, and face therefore, as he does, eastward. Thus the eastward position of the priest has never varied, but the position of the people in relation to the celebrant has been in the course of ages reversed. The probable history of this change in the relative situation of the assistant congregation is discussed elsewhere, and does not here concern us. It is only necessary, in passing, to remark that the act of consecration was not less hidden from the view of the laity by the primitive arrangement of churches than by the later. In the early Church, indeed, the ceremonies connected with the consecration were even more effectually veiled from view than in the medieval, for the altar was surrounded by curtains which were drawn close at the commencement of the canon, and only withdrawn at the communion, a relic of which was preserved in our english churches, down to the reign of Edward VI., in the veil which was drawn across the sanctuary, a little in advance of the altar, during Lent.^b The change in the relative position of the congregation has therefore nothing to do with any notion of exhibiting or of concealing the act of consecration, which was equally withdrawn from view in either case. In the primitive arrangement the concealment was absolute. In medieval times this reserve gradually lessened. It was retained for many ages during Lent, after it had been abandoned during the greater part of the Christian year. A tradition of it is preserved still in the side-curtains with which many western altars are still furnished, but it is now practically extinct.

The early position of the celebrant facing toward the congregation was therefore of no moment to them, as his action was completely veiled from their view.^c It was also, though

^a We do not speak of a commander, advancing into action at the head of his regiment, as "turning his back" upon his men.

^b See the Cistercian Ordinary in Dr. Rock's "Church of our Fathers," 4, app. 81, and the Sarum Consuetudinary, cap. 102.

^c There is preserved in the ritual of the Roman liturgy a curious monument of this primitive rule of concealing from the view of the faithful the acts of consecration and of sacrifice. Whenever the priest addresses the congregation in the familiar *Dominus vobiscum*, he turns, naturally, towards the people. But there is an exception. From the *Orate fratres*, after the offertory, until the post-communion, he does not so turn himself. The *Sursum corda* commences with the accustomed *Dominus vobiscum*, but the celebrant does not turn towards

the normal primitive arrangement, by no means a matter of principle even in the earliest ages. The proof of this is afforded us in the chapels of the Catacombs. Here the altar is the marble slab covering the tomb of some witness to the faith. These tombs, termed *arcisolia*, are formed in arched recesses of the tufa. At such altars of the earliest christian age, the priest must necessarily have stood with his back toward the people, or rather must have faced in the same direction as they, though here, as in the basilica, concealed from view, during the rite of consecration, by a veil. It was, therefore, no principle of the early Church that the celebrant should face toward the people. It appears to have been a principle that he should face eastward, and to have been the normal arrangement that, where practicable, the nave should be placed eastward of the altar; but in those early basilicas, in which the less usual plan of an eastern sanctuary was, from whatever causes, adopted, the celebrant did not front towards the people, but facing, as usual, eastward, he had, in these cases, his back towards them.

As attempts have been made to evade this purely archæological conclusion, in the interest perhaps of certain religious theories with which we are not concerned, it may be well to give a list of some of the principal basilicas of the primitive age, which are known to us by history, or are still existing, with their orientation indicated.

Let us take, in the first place, the basilica erected by Constantine in contiguity to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The sacred cave, originally formed in the face of a small rocky cliff, the emperor isolated by cutting away the rock about it, as had been done at a much earlier age in the case of the tombs called of Absalom and of Zachariah, in the valley of Jehoshaphat. He was thus enabled to surround it on three sides by a semi-circular cloister in the centre of which, open to the sky, remained the portion of rock in which the sepulchre itself was hewn, "standing out erect and alone on a level plot," as Eusebius, an eye-witness, describes it. The entrance to the cave is in the eastern face of the rock, and the *loculus*, in which the sacred Body had lain, is on the right hand of one entering within, as indicated by St. Mark (cap. xvi. 5) in his description of the position of the "young man sitting on the right side."^a To the eastward of the cloister thus formed around the sepulchre, stood the church itself, "for on that side of the court," says Eusebius,^e "which was situated opposite to the cave, and towards the rising sun, was placed the basilica." This had double aisles, entrances towards the east, "three doors facing towards the rising sun admitted the entering crowd," and an apse towards the west; "opposite to these doors was the apse, the head of the whole work, reaching to those to whom the salutation is addressed. There is a similar address to the people in the *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum* after the *Pater noster*, but the priest does not turn himself to the people. As the rite is now performed in full view of the congregation throughout, there seems no reason in this exceptional departure from the general rule. But turn to the primitive ritual, and the difficulty is explained at once. After the offertory, and until the post-communion, the curtains of the baldachin were close drawn, and the faithful could hear indeed the salutation of the celebrant, but could not see him. He, therefore, did not turn to them then, as he was accustomed to do at other times, when, the veils being drawn aside, he was *coram populo*.

^a I may observe, in passing, that a study of the question of the authenticity of the existing sepulchre, which had spread over many years, convinced my father, who was keenly interested in the subject, 1. That the sepulchre now to be seen is a rock-hewn Jewish grave. 2. That it is the same cave which was recovered in A.D. 326 upon the removal, by Constantine's orders, of the temple of Venus, erected above it for the express purpose of its desecration by Hadrian, about A.D. 130, at a time when the events of the Passion were almost in the memory of man, and the veneration of the sepulchre so notorious as to determine the emperor to take action in the matter. 3. That, as follows from the above, the present cave is the one which was, in A.D. 130, venerated by Christians as the scene of the entombment and of the resurrection, in short, beyond any rational doubt, the true sepulchre of the Lord. This conclusion the collapse of the counter-theory of Mr. Fergusson, which recent discoveries have brought about, tends to confirm.

^e Eusebius, "Life of Constantine," Lib. iii. cap. 36, 37, 38, 39.

the very roof of the basilica." The sanctuary was fenced off from the body of the church, as in the Vatican basilica, erected by the same emperor, by a screen of twelve columns with capitals of silver. Eastward of the three principal doorways was the atrium, opening upon the great market-place, now represented by the modern bazaars, "in the next place he enclosed a space open to the air between the basilica and the outer portals. This comprehended first the open court, then the cloisters on each side and, lastly, the portals of the atrium itself. These, the entrance gates of the whole work, standing in the midst of the open market-place, which were of exquisite workmanship, afforded to the passers-by a promise of the wonders within."

I have given a somewhat full account of this church, both because it is a typical example, and because the orientation characteristic of primitive times, the reverse of that which has become general in later ages, is in the description of the bishop of Cæsarea, defined with great precision.

The next church to which I will refer is the great basilica at Tyre, burned during the Dioclesian persecution in 303,^f and restored by Constantine. Eusebius preaching in the new building upon the occasion of its dedication, after referring to the prophecy here, as so often in the history of the Church, again fulfilled, "The glory of this latter house shall far exceed that of the former," speaks of the emperor's work as follows: "Embracing then a much wider space than before, he strengthened the outer enclosure with a wall to compass the edifice that it might be a most secure protection to the whole building. He then erected a large and lofty entrance-vestibule, extended towards the rays of the rising sun, presenting even to those standing without the sacred edifice a full view of those within it, compelling as it were the eyes even of those who are strangers to the faith to contemplate its entrance. On entering within these gates, he has not permitted you to pass immediately, with impure and unwashed feet, within the temple, but leaving an extensive space between the nave and the vestibule, he has adorned and enclosed this with four colonnades, presenting thus a quadrangular atrium with pillars rising on every side. Between the pillars he has carried round a latticed balustrade rising to a suitable height, leaving however, the central area open so that the heavens can be seen, presenting to view the glorious sky irradiated by the beams of the sun. Here he has placed as it were symbols of spiritual purifications by providing a fountain, built before the front of the nave, which, by the abundant effusion of its waters affords the means of cleansing to those who are proceeding to the inner parts of the church.^g This is the first place that receives those who would enter the building, and it offers at the same time to those not yet initiated both a splendid and a convenient station. Passing on from this he has formed entrances to the church itself, with several inner vestibules, placing upon one side of the atrium three portals facing towards the rising sun. Of these he has constructed the central doorway so as to far exceed those on each side in height and breadth, embellishing the door itself with exceedingly splendid brazen plates bound with iron, and decorated with various sculptures, superadding these as guards and attendants to a queen. In the same way he has arranged the several inner vestibules, he has constructed aisles with colonnades on each side of the whole length of the nave, and above these pillars he has formed numerous openings for the purpose of admitting more light to the interior of the

^f Eusebius, "Eccles. History," Lib. viii. cap. 2.

^g The holy water stoup, placed near the door in the western churches preserves, even to our own day, this tradition of primitive times.

building, and these lights or windows he has further decorated with various kinds of ornamental sculpture. The basilica itself he has furnished with the most rich and sumptuous materials, using in all his expenditure a generous liberality. And here, it appears to me to be superfluous to dwell upon the dimensions, the length and the breadth of the edifice, its splendid elegance, its grandeur which surpasses description, and the dazzling aspect of the work which stands in all its glory before me as I speak, the lofty walls rising heavenwards, and the costly roof of cedar-wood which rests upon them, which has not been overlooked by the divine oracles themselves, when they say 'The forests of the Lord shall rejoice, and the cedars of Lebanon which he has planted.' Why should I now detail minutely the skilful architectural arrangement and the exceeding beauty of each part of the building, when the testimony of your own eyes renders needless instruction through the ear?

"The church itself being thus completed, he has further adorned the apse with elevated thrones to give due honour to those who there preside over the assembly, and also with fitting seats for the rest of the clergy, arranged in order around the whole, and at last has placed in the centre of all the holy altar, and in order that this might be inaccessible to the multitude he has further enclosed it with framed lattice-work, accurately wrought with ingenious sculpture, presenting to the spectator a truly admirable sight. And not even the pavement was neglected by him, for this too, he has splendidly adorned with marble.

"Proceeding thence to the parts exterior to the church itself, he has provided on each side of this palace of the great King, and contiguous to it, spacious sacristies and halls which are designed by this our most peaceful Solomon, the founder of our temple, for those who need as yet the purification, and the effusion of water and of the Holy Ghost. These buildings communicate with entrances placed midway in the length of the church.

"Thus that prophecy, which I have already quoted seems to consist no longer in word only, but in fact and in deed, for the glory of this latter house is truly far beyond that of the former."^b

Here again the vividness of the description, the interesting circumstances of its delivery, in the presence of the emperor, in the very church so eloquently portrayed, no less than the clear indication of the orientation of the basilica, the point with which we are now more immediately concerned, will, I trust, justify to the judicious reader a somewhat lengthy quotation.

These conspicuous examples of the primitive, as distinguished from the medieval, orientation are, as I think, sufficient to create a presumption that the normal arrangement of the first christian churches was the exact reverse of that which has in later times prevailed. Let us enquire next how far this presumption is borne out by the evidence afforded by the very numerous early basilicas still standing in Rome itself.

There is notoriously no city which contains so many monuments of the primitive age of christianity as Rome. This fact is remarkable when we remember that the imperial city was for centuries the headquarters of sturdy conservative paganism, and that the new and christian Rome upon the Bosphorus, was founded by the first christian emperor, with the deliberate intention to substitute for the ancient and, as was thought, hopelessly pagan capital a new and distinctly christian metropolis. This new Rome has now for four centuries been in the hands of the infidel, but within the walls of old Rome, we have ourselves seen assembled the largest gathering of christian prelates which has ever yet been collected; while in its monuments, as

^b Eusebius, "Eccles. History," Lib. x. cap. 4.

in the details of its ritual, the customs of the primitive ages of our religion are, more conspicuously than on any other stage, displayed.

It will be most convenient to give, in the first place, a list of those early roman churches which are an exception to the primitive rule of the westward sanctuary.

St. Paul's, without the walls. *Basilica Ostiensis*. Its sanctuary is E.

This church was erected by Valentinian II. and Theodosius on the site of one of Constantine's basilicas, and was completed by Honorius. It was, until the Reformation, under the protection of the sovereigns of England, a traditional patronage which, tends to confirm the story that the missionary work of St. Paul extended to Britain, and with which the dedication of the cathedral church of London accords.

St. Agnes without the walls. Enlarged by Pope Symmachus to its present form (498-514).

Its sanctuary lies S.E.

In this church are blessed the lambs of whose wool the *pallia* of archbishops are woven.

St. Mary *in Cosmedin*. Rebuilt by Pope Adrian I. in 782 S.E.E.

St. Peter *ad Vincula*, near the baths of Titus, the *Basilica Eudoxiana*, rebuilt by Adrian I. E.

St. Sabina, on the Aventine hill, erected in A.D. 425, but reduced to its present form by Sixtus V. in 1587 N.E.

Sts. Cosmo and Damian, near the Forum, erected in A.D. 530 N.E.E.

St. Mary *in Ara Cali* has its sanctuary E.

It was dedicated by St. Gregory in the sixth century. Its beautiful choir ambones are medieval in character, and its western façade is of the fourteenth century. It is thus, like St. George *in Velabro*, of doubtful value as evidence of early usage, while its position on the western edge of the Capitoline hill makes it somewhat more than possible that its original orientation has been reversed.

St. Cross *in Gerusalemme*. The Sessorian basilica was founded by Constantine in 331, and in it was deposited a portion of the cross of Calvary recovered by St. Helena. Its sanctuary faces S.E.

It was however restored by Gregory II. in the eighth century, and brought into its present form by Benedict XIV. in 1774. It preserves scarcely a trace of its original form, and its evidential value is therefore small. On the other hand its exceptional position, close to the Aurelian wall, may have determined from the first a departure from the usual plan.

St. Laurence, without the walls, has its present sanctuary E.

This apparent exception is, however, of those which prove the rule, for its original apse was at the west end of the basilica. This was removed by Honorius III. in 1216, who erected the existing nave, and thus reversed the primitive arrangement. This reversal, which, is obvious upon examining the building, and is indeed a matter of history, is valuable as an authentic instance of a process which we have seen reason to suspect to have been applied, during the middle ages, to other primitive churches.

St. Bibiana, on the Esquiline hill S.E.

This church was founded in the fifth century, and remodelled by Bernini in the seventeenth.

St. Prisca, on the Aventine E.

This church has been wholly modernised, but from the arrangement of its confessionalary crypt the present orientation appears to be the ancient.

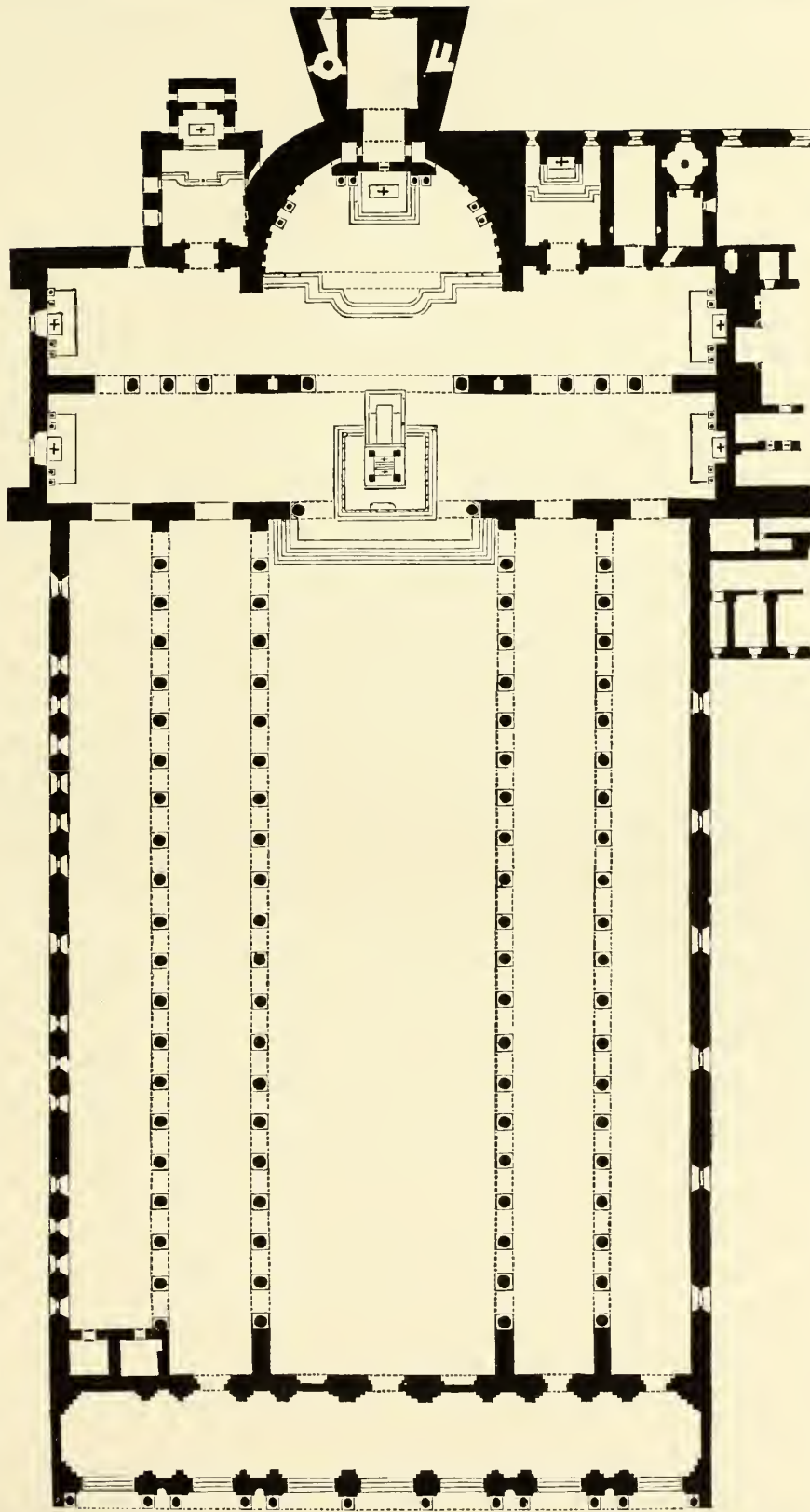
There are thus seven churches of the early centuries in Rome which appear to have retained their original form, which have an eastward sanctuary. There are, besides these, three founded in primitive times, which have now eastward sanctuaries, but in which a reversal of the original distribution is possible, or probable, and one, St. Laurence, in which it is certain.

Let us now see how many of the more ancient churches of Rome conform to the normal primitive plan.

St. Peter's. *Basilica Vaticana*. Its sanctuary is W.

Though the present church is of course comparatively modern, it agrees in this respect exactly with the church erected by Constantine which it has replaced.¹

¹ Fontana's plan shows to the westward of the ancient church another small but complete basilica with transepts, dedicated to St. Stephen. This also had the westward sanctuary.



THE BASILICA OF ST. PAUL AT ROME.
GROUND-PLAN PREVIOUS TO THE FIRE OF A.D. 1823.

St. John Lateran. <i>Basilica Laterana</i>	W.
St. Mary Major. <i>Basilica Liberiana</i>	N.W.
St. Laurence, without the walls, (before its reversal in 1216)	W.

Thus of the five great patriarchal basilicas, St. Paul's, without the walls, is the only exception to the rule.

St. Balbina, on the Aventine	W.
St. Saba, on the eastern slope of the same hill	N.W.
St. Cecilia, in the Trastevere	N.W.

This church is built upon the site of the house of Cecilia. It was founded by Urban I., in 230.

St. George <i>in Velabro</i>	N.W.N.
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Founded in the fourth century. It is the only church in Rome dedicated in honour of the patron of England.

St. Clement	N.W.W.
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The orientation of the earlier church, recently discovered below the present building, is the same as that of the latter.

St. Crisogonus, in the Trastevere	W.
St. Martin <i>di Monti</i> , on the Esquiline hill	N.W.
Sts. Nereus and Achilles, on the Appian street	S.W.W.
St. Prassede	N.W.N.
St. Pudentiana, on the Aventine	N.W.
The church of the <i>Quattro Coronati</i> , on the Cœlian hill	N.W.W.

This church is interesting to christian artists, as dedicated in honour of four brothers, architects and architectural sculptors, who refusing to prostitute their skill to the service of idolatry, were beheaded by order of Diocletian.¹

St. Mary <i>in Dominica</i>	W.
St. Nicholas <i>in Carcere</i>	W.
St. Vitalis, between the Quirinal and Viminal hills	N.W.
St. Agnes, in the Piazza Navona	W.

The original church was erected upon the spot where St. Agnes was publicly exposed after her torture. The present building dates from 1642, but the position of the church in relation to the piazza seems to prove that the present orientation is the same as that of the primitive basilica.

St. Alessius, on the Aventine	N.W.
St. Cæsareus <i>in Palatio</i> , on the Via Latina	S.W.W.
Sts. John and Paul, on the Cœlian, erected by Pammachus, the friend of St. Jerome	N.W.W.
St. Mark, in the palace of Venice, founded in 337	N.W.N.
St. Mary <i>in via lata</i>	W.

This church is believed to occupy the site of "the hired house," in which St. Paul was lodged for "two whole years" in the custody of a centurion. Acts xxviii. 30.

Sts. Laurence and Damian.	N.W.W.
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Erected in 1495 on the site of the Prasinian basilica, and presumably on the ancient lines.

St. Lucia <i>del Gonfalone</i>	W.
St. Pancras, near the Villa Pamphili	N.W.
St. Mary, in the Trastevere	W.

Said to have been the first church in Rome dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

It was founded by St. Calixtus in 224.

St. Peter <i>in Montorio</i>	W.
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Founded by Constantine upon the site of St. Peter's crucifixion, and rebuilt at the expense of Ferdinand and Isabella at the close of the fifteenth century.

St. Sixtus, on the Appian way	N.W.N.
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It was here that St. Dominic founded the devotion of the rosary.

St. Stephen, <i>in Cacco</i>	W.
St. Stephen, on the road to Albano	W.
St. Egidius, in the Trastevere	W.

¹ There was a church with this dedication in Canterbury as early as 620, cf. Bede, "Eccl. Hist.," ii. 7.

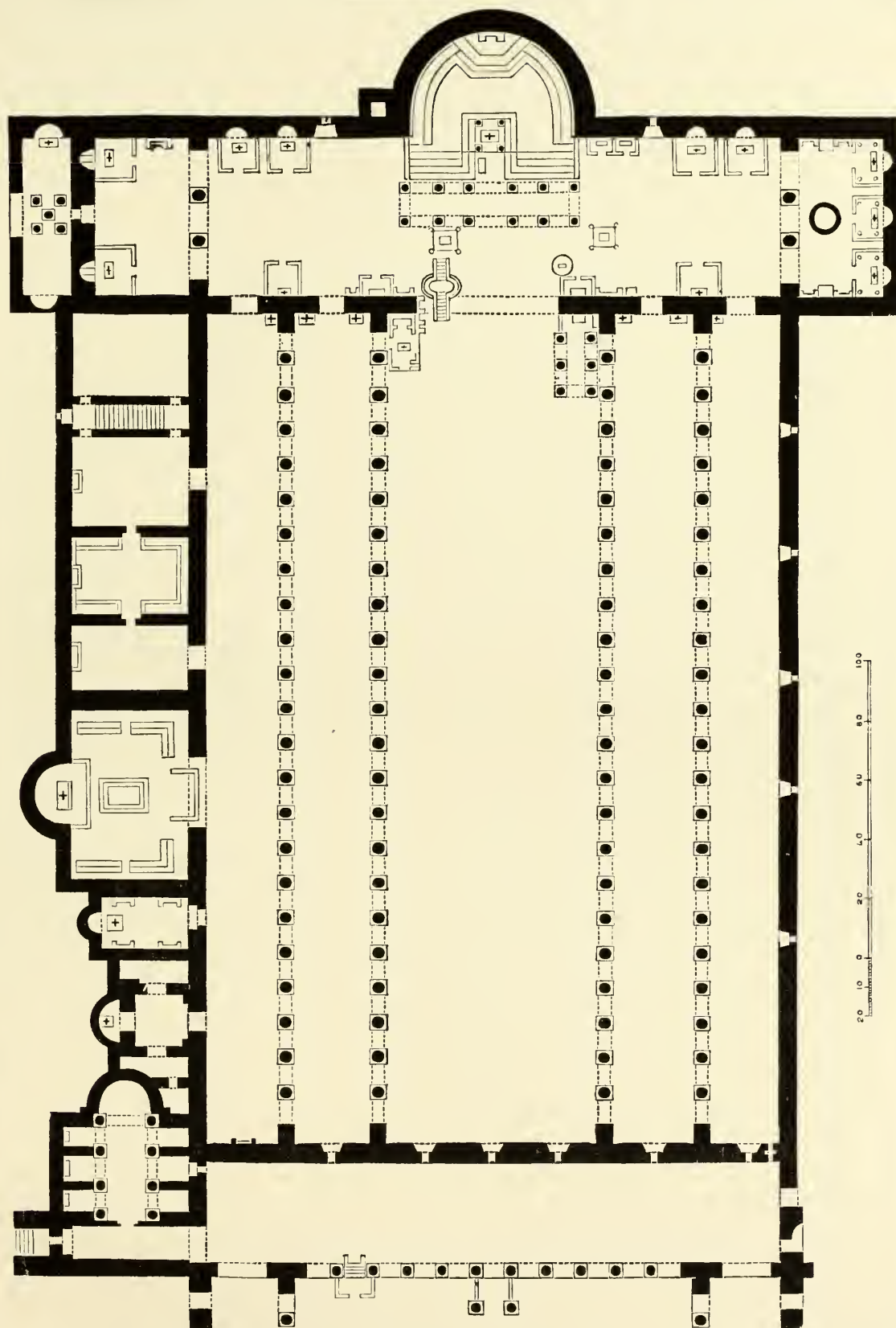
St. Chrysogonus, in the Trastevere	N.W.W.
Founded by Constantine. Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, was titular cardinal of this church.	
St. Mary <i>dell' orto</i> , in the Trastevere	N.W.
A late example of the early tradition.	
St. James, in the Trastevere	W.
Sts. Peter and Marcellina, near the Lateran basilica, rebuilt in the eighteenth century	W.
St. Biagius, in the Via Giulia	W.
St. Mary <i>di Monserrato</i> , in the same street	W.
St. Sebastian, on the Appian way, founded by Constantine	W.
The Sixtine chapel, in the Vatican palace	W.
Erected in 1473, this is a late instance of the survival of the ancient tradition of the roman church, at its headquarters.	

This list is by no means exhaustive. It gives only those churches as to which, from my own observation and from that of two friends, whose frequent sojourns in Rome have given them opportunities which are exceptional, and which they have allowed me to profit by, I have been able to obtain accurate information. In this very imperfect list we find, however, about forty churches of early date, or giving evidence of the preservation of early arrangements, in which, contrary to the medieval or modern rule, the sanctuary is placed at the western end of the building, as against seven of distinctly early date arranged upon the more modern plan: while of these six, three, viz., St. Mary *in Cosmedin* and St. Peter *ad Vincula*, rebuilt in the eighth century, and St. Sabina remodelled in the sixteenth, are of very doubtful value as evidence of early usage.

We might add to these instances others from all parts of primitive christendom. The metropolitan church of Canterbury, restored by St. Augustine, but originally erected as Eadmer tells us "by the labour of roman believers," had a westward sanctuary. The early church of Lyminge near Folkestone, to which I shall have occasion to revert, is a very similar instance. The foundations of this edifice, now exposed to view, show distinctly that the church restored by Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert, was a roman basilica, and it had a westward apse. The description of the church erected, about the year 400, by St. Paulinus at Nola, which is given in a subsequent discursus, appears to show that this basilica also had its façade of entrance toward the east, which the account describes as the then more usual plan, *usitatio romos*. In all those churches of Germany and of France which have apses at both their extremities it may, I believe, be proved that the western apse represents the early and primitive arrangement. One example occurs to me in illustration, that of the cathedral of Naumburg in Hesse.

In this very remarkable church there is an apse and also a rood-loft at each end of the building. The eastern rood-loft and sanctuary is romanesque, and the conventual choir was situated in this part of the church. The celebrant at the high altar faced eastward. The western rood-loft and apse are of the thirteenth century, and at the second high altar in this western sanctuary the celebrant, as is evident from the arrangement of the foot-paces, faced also eastward and so towards the congregation. Such a distribution is so entirely exceptional in the churches of the thirteenth century, that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the existing western sanctuary, though of thirteenth century date, is merely a reconstruction of the primitive *Bema*. This western portion of the building being, on this theory, the most ancient, had become dilapidated in the thirteenth century, long after the erection of the romanesque choir, and was then rebuilt, in the style, indeed, of the day, but upon the old lines as to ritual arrangement.

I have not been able to obtain much information as to the orientation of early churches in



THE BASILICA OF ST. PETER AT ROME.

GROUND-PLAN PREVIOUS TO ITS DESTRUCTION IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

the east, but we may add to the written evidence of Eusebius' description, that afforded by a church still existing at Thessalonica. Its christian dedication is now lost, and it is known as Eski Djouma, the ancient mosque. It is a complete early basilica, and has the westward sanctuary. I believe it to be of the end of the 4th century.^k

There is also a very remarkable church upon the Nile, that of the white Monastery near Thebes, erected by St. Helena. It is described as basilican in plan, as the buildings of this empress usually were, and having its altar toward the west.^l

These facts are to my own mind sufficient to establish the conclusion that the normal arrangement of the earliest christian churches was that of a western sanctuary, in opposition to that which became prevalent in the middle ages, and which we are ourselves accustomed to follow.

It has sometimes been asserted that the orientation of the early churches of Rome is so various that it is probable that no rule existed upon the subject, and that in ancient days, as in modern, orientation was disregarded there. On the face of it, and to one whose attention has not been specially directed to the subject, such a view is plausible enough, though a certain suspicion will, in the mind of an archæologist, attach itself to any theory, as to what is, after all, purely a question of fact, which appears to be valued less for its truth than for its polemical convenience in the controversies of the day. The danger of allowing cold, dispassionate, discussion as to matters of history to grow warm by the relation which the story of the past may bear to burning questions of the present, is one against which we have all to be on our guard. No antiquarian who has a heart as well as a head, or who is anything beyond a mere Dryasdust, can escape the temptation to allow his judgment of what has been, to be coloured by his opinion of what ought to have been, or of what ought now to be. This consideration applies all round, and I have always felt that any antiquarian theory which commends itself very strongly to one's wishes or tastes (matters lying wholly outside of scientific archæology) demands a special rigour of proof beyond what is necessary in those questions in the investigation of which sentiment can play no hidden part. The view now before us is therefore open to some suspicion, for it is followed by a *rider* to the effect that, as in the primitive churches the celebrating priest faced toward the nave, it follows that the position of the celebrant was then a matter of indifference, a conclusion whose bearing upon recent controversy is obvious enough.

As it appears to me, the express statement of Eusebius that, in the case of the only two basilicas to whose orientation he refers, the tribune and altar were toward the west, and the narthex toward the east, creates a certain presumption that the question of orientation was not a matter of indifference. In modern London, in spite of the strong feeling for correct mediæval orientation, we find it necessary, from the obvious exigences of site in a crowded city, to be satisfied very frequently with a rough approximation to an eastward axis. Similar conditions imposed a similar restriction upon the builders of the roman basilicas, and we should be unreasonable if we were to expect, however strong the sentiment indicated in Eusebius' account of the church of the Holy Sepulchre and of that at Tyre may have been, that it would have been found possible to act upon it, with exactitude, in the densely populated metropolis of the ancient world. In spite of this the number of churches in Rome whose sanctuaries lie almost precisely due west is remarkable. This is the case with more than half of those which

^k See Texier and Pullan's "Byzantine Architecture," p. 145.

^l Curzon's "Monasteries in the Levant," chap. xi.

I have been able to catalogue,^m and the significance of this fact, in contrast with the exactly opposite result of an examination of any equal number of medieval churches, in any other part of western Europe, cannot I think, be mistaken. It is undoubtedly true that in Rome itself since the middle agesⁿ the principle of orientation has been completely abandoned, and a comparison of any like number of the churches of more recent foundation with those of the earlier age which have retained their ancient lines, will serve to bring out with greater clearness the primitive rule.^o

With respect to the position of the celebrant in early times the following may be stated of the churches in Rome whose orientation I have given above.

The priest faces eastward and away from the people in all those cases in which the sanctuary lies in that direction with two exceptions, St. Peter *ad Vincula* and St. Sabina, in both of which churches the altar-arrangements have clearly been modernised. He faces eastward and towards the people in no less than seventeen of those churches, which have a westward sanctuary, including the most important of them, St. Peter's, St. John Lateran, St. Mary Major, and generally in those churches which have best retained their early arrangements, such as St. Cecilia, St. Mary in the Trastevere, St. George *in Velabro*, and Sts. Nereus and Achilles. In the church of St. Sebastian, which has lost its ancient apse altogether, a tradition of the ancient disposition appears to be preserved in the chapel in which the body of the Saint is deposited, where the celebrant faces towards the congregation in the nave.

When we consider how singular, from the point of view of medieval or of modern ecclesiology, is this position of the priest fronting towards the people, we may well be surprised, not that in many of the Roman Churches, having westward sanctuaries, the primitive orientation of the celebrant has been lost, but that it has been preserved in so many instances, in defiance of the fashion of medieval and modern times. The eastward position of the priest thus prevails in all of the five great, or patriarchal Basilicas, although three of these, the Vatican, the Lateran, and the Liberian, have their sanctuaries in the westward direction, and moreover in some fourteen other Roman churches of early foundation, whose orientation is the reverse of that which obtained in later times.^p The presumption thus created is further supposed by Eadmer's account of the cathedral church of Canterbury, in which, as he tells us, the celebrant at the western, and presumably the most ancient, altar, had his face toward the

^m The figures are as follows. Of the forty-one churches I have enumerated as having westward tribunes twenty-one have their axes almost exactly due west. It is worthy of notice in passing that of the twenty which deflect from the true westward inclination only two lie to the south of west, the eighteen others tend more or less to the north-west.

ⁿ I say, since the middle ages, because the two great medieval churches, St. Mary *del Populo*, and St. Mary *sopra Minerva*, rebuilt in 1227 and 1370 respectively, have their sanctuaries as exactly eastward as is the case with contemporary churches north of the Alps.

^o Let any one who has any doubt upon the matter try for himself the result of applying to the roman churches of ancient foundation *septentrionation* instead of *orientation*. In contrast with some twenty lying about due west, he will find not one lying north or south, and only two or three lying nearer to the north than about N.W. or N.E.

^p To prevent misconception it may be well to repeat that although the orientation of the early churches was usually the reverse of that which afterwards became the rule, it was no principle of the primitive church that the celebrant should face towards the people. Not only did the fact of the altar being concealed by veils render the position of the priest a matter, so to speak, of indifference to the congregation, from whose sight he was completely concealed; but further it must be remembered that in the chapels of the Catacombs, where the recessed tomb of a martyred saint (arcisolum) formed the altar, the priest necessarily stood facing in the same direction as the people (*i.e.*, with his back to them); though no doubt concealed from their view here, just as in the churches above ground, by veils.

east, and so toward the congregation in the nave ; *ad hoc altare cum sacerdos ageret divina misteria, faciem ad populum, qui deorsum stabat, at orientem versam habebat.*

The same would appear to be the position of the priest, at the altar in the western apse, as contemplated by the plan of St. Gall's, and the same is, to this day, the arrangement of the western sanctuary at Naumburg, which I have already described.

It would thus appear that in early times great importance was attached to the eastward position of the celebrant ; in the middle ages, to the eastward position of both celebrant and people ; in modern times, to neither.

DISCURSUS

ON THE ÆSTHETIC AND ARTISTIC ELEMENT IN PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.

IT is a very common opinion that the christian church possessed no material temples until the time of Constantine, and that when the peace of the church was proclaimed, certain law-courts, then termed basilicas, were made over to the christians, and that from these, pagan and purely secular, edifices, the normal type of a church has been derived. There is usually combined with this theory a general impression that the christians of the earlier ages were strongly iconoclastic in their sentiments; that they were too spiritually-minded to care to erect temples made "with hands," and that the desire, which was notoriously displayed in the fourth century, to embody in material building the *civitas Dei*, was the first symptom of the advent of the "great apostasy."

Submitted to the test of strict historical investigation, these theories fall to pieces. Propounded originally by sceptics, and timidly acquiesced in by faint-hearted believers, they will not stand the criticism of modern archæology.

It is known, in the first place, that the pagan basilicas were not law-courts. They often contained law-courts it is true, but they were no more law-courts than were the *Fora* themselves, in which, as being essentially public places, the law-courts were more usually placed. In the next place, there is no well-authenticated instance of the conversion of any pagan basilica into a christian church; and while there are existing in eastern christendom numbers of churches of, what we term, the basilican type, the word *Basilica* "was never used by either the writers or the architects of Byzantine times."^a Indeed, it is on the face of it improbable, if we reflect that the conversion of the government to christianity had no tendency to render the existing basilicas less necessary than they had been in pagan times. Even the law-courts, which they usually included, were not less necessary for legal business after the peace of the church than they had been before that event. Christianity, unfortunately, could not abolish the litigious instincts of our nature, and after fifteen centuries of the gospel, the legal profession still flourishes. During the last few years in our own country, ecclesiastical matters have even made an extensive and lucrative addition to its business.

The buildings which were rendered useless by the official recognition of the new faith were not the basilicas, but the temples; and while there is, so far as I can ascertain, no proof of the conversion of any secular basilica into a christian church, there are abundant examples of pagan temples converted into christian sanctuaries.^b

This fact is itself an illustration of the æsthetic character of the new religion, at all events in the fourth century. It would indeed be strange if a faith which gave a new life and a new career of indefinite developement to the expiring art of the ancient world, and which has in its

^a Texier and Pullan, p. 128.

^b For a very interesting series of such conversions of temples into churches in all parts of the roman empire see Texier and Pullan's "Byzantine Architecture," pp. 75-105.

course produced, of all the religions of the world, the noblest temples,^e should have been, in its original, wholly without sympathy with art, and even iconoclastic. Such a supposition is upon the face of it improbable, and it derives no support from the results of antiquarian research.

Gibbon, with that *odium atheologicum* which he often betrays when he has occasion to refer to the religion of which he was found unworthy, has stated that in the primitive ages, "every art and every trade that was in the least concerned in the gracing or adorning of idols, was, in the opinion of the christians, polluted by the stain of idolatry—a severe sentence, since it devoted to eternal misery the far greater part of the community employed in the liberal or mechanical professions." How far from true is this statement of the sceptical bigot is clear from the circumstance of the wholesale conversion of pagan temples into churches in the fourth and fifth centuries, a conversion which ensured their preservation. "It is owing," say the learned authors of the work on Byzantine architecture already referred to, "to the fact that christianity protected them that so many temples have come down to us. It is calumnious to the christian religion to assume that it was the enemy of the fine arts. The civil life of the Romans was accepted in every respect by the first christians. There is not in the writings of the apostles a single word against the literature, the arts, or the poetry of the pagans, and the fathers of the church, who crowned by their immortal labours the foundation laid by the apostles, condemned those works only which tended to corrupt public and private morality. The *chef d'œuvres* of antiquity were as much admired by christians as by pagans, and the statues of the gods, deprived, it is true, of their religious character, were sought for by emperors and patricians for the purpose of adorning their palaces. The amphitheatres in which christians had been thrown to the wild beasts were allowed to exist after the combats had been abolished. The theatres in which pagans had ridiculed the christian religion still continued to serve as places of popular assembly."

That a certain rigorist spirit, under the circumstances very natural and very excusable, was prevalent in the early church is undeniable. There are very strong and exaggerated expressions of this sentiment to be found, not only in Tertullian, but in Clement of Alexandria, in the writings of the Apologists and elsewhere. This rigorism, where it shows itself, was not confined of course to art. It manifested itself also in opposition to philosophy, and even to the amenities of life. Nor could it well be otherwise. The early christians were men, and prone, like the rest of us, to push principles, in themselves sound, to an extreme; and in the prevalent opinion, as distinct from the formal teaching of the Church, there has ever been a certain amount of exaggeration. Such opposition to art as did exist among the early christians was to some extent no doubt justified by circumstances. Art was so mixed up with an idolatry, which was still a living power, that the church authorities were often tempted to adopt measures which should keep the faithful at a distance from it.

In China quite recently, I believe, images were prohibited in the churches of the catholic missionaries because of the imminent danger of their abuse; but we have ample proof that the

^e Of one of the latest of these—the Vatican basilica—Byron has written—

"To this Diana's marvel was a cell—
Christ's mighty shrine above his martyrs' tomb.—
But thou, of temples old, or altars new,
Standest alone, with nothing like to thee
Worthiest of God.

Majesty,
Power, glory, strength, and beauty—all are aisled
In this eternal ark of worship undefiled."—*Childe Harold*, iv. 153, 154.

early church did not find it necessary to go as far as this. The paintings of the catacombs are sufficient to show this, and the knowledge derived from them has modified the interpretation of the famous canon of Elvira, which might appear at first sight to forbid altogether the use of images.^d

It must be remembered too that figure-painting and statuary, although in some sense the highest, are not the only arts. Religious poetry, music, and ceremonial, no less than architecture, are forms of art against which the church has certainly never protested, and which are even essential, in some degree, to its ritual. More than this, in spite of a certain rigorism, the existence of which cannot be denied, the genius of the new religion appears to me to have been the very opposite of iconoclastic.

The severity of the early church was in fact very similar with that medieval form of the same sentiment of which the Cistercian Rule is the expression. This severely ascetic code forbade the use of images or of any representation of the human figure even in stained glass, with the single exception of the crucifix. Yet the buildings erected by this order are, in their noble simplicity, among the most lovely works of the middle ages,^e and its ceremonial is perhaps the noblest of all the medieval rites.^f

In the same way in forming a judgment as to the rigorism of the early Fathers, we must take account of the eloquence, with which these very views are expressed, and of the noble poetry which breathes in every text, which they quote in support of them. Eloquence and poetry are themselves forms of art; and the majesty of the language of the Gospels, of the Epistles, and of the early liturgies, of itself suffices to refute the notion that christianity was ever, even in its early days of trial, the enemy of that of which it has made so large and generous a use.

Nor is evidence wanting of the existence of art, in its most material shape, that of architecture, in the ages preceding the conversion of Constantine. "We gather from historical documents," say Texier and Pullan,^g "that from the second century of the christian era numerous churches were erected in Asia, since prescriptions were issued from Rome for their demolition."^h This took place in the reign of Decius (A.D. 249-251). During the reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 283, 284) numerous churches were erected, and that emperor expressly forbade their destruction. An edict ordering the demolition of the churches was issued by Diocletian on February 24th, A.D. 303, and the extant accounts of the carrying out of this enactment show at once how numerous they were, and how magnificent were many of them.

Leo Allatiusⁱ mentions the Church of Sion which, according to the tradition prevalent in his day, was erected in the time of the Apostles, the nave of which had a semi-cylindrical roof.

^d The 36th canon of the council of Illiberis (Elvira) runs thus: *Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur*. Bishop Hefele gives the date of the council as 306. He further states that De Rossi alone has given the right interpretation of the decree. The spanish churches were not, like the catacombs, secure from the intrusion of heathens, and pictures would therefore have exposed the worship of christians to the derision of the pagan public. For this reason the spanish council forbade paintings, either of the saints (*quod colitur*) or of our Lord (*quod adoratur*).

^e Tintern abbey, for example.

^f *Ordinarius totius anni cisterciensis*. Dr. Rock's "Church of our Fathers," iv. app., p. 77.

^g Texier and Pullan, "Byzantine Architecture," pp. 104, 105: "We find, from the writings of Eusebius, that neither the temples nor the territory annexed to them were regarded by the Christians as defiled." *Ib.*, p. 30.

^h *Ib.*, p. 49.

ⁱ *Ep.* xi., p. 39.

In the course of the second century a church, which was considered one of the most important of its time, was erected at Edessa. It was destroyed by an inundation of the river Scirtus, in A.D. 202. Most of the existing churches were ruined by Decius or by Diocletian, and their restoration under Constantine, and the successive rebuildings and enlargements which the exuberance of christian art has in later times determined, has left to us little material evidence of the architecture of these early ages. There is, however, some ; and as eastern christendom becomes more open to western archæological research, we may hope that its amount may be increased.

I need not here refer to the roman catacombs, because although these monuments of the primitive age are simply invaluable, as illustrating the ecclesiology of the primitive church, the circumstances which compelled the formation of subterranean sanctuaries rendered also impossible any great developement of christian æstheticism. We cannot reasonably draw from the necessary simplicity of these underground chapels, formed during the comparatively short periods of active persecution, any inference against the essentially artistic character of the churches erected above-ground during the much longer intervals of practical toleration.

There was undoubtedly in existence at the time when Constantine was led, by a political necessity, to establish officially the religion which had practically already established itself, a definite type of a christian church. "Contemporary writers state that all the larger churches built by Constantine were in the form of a *stadium*,"^j that is to say, they were oblong buildings, of which one extremity was semicircular. We have in this fact an evidence of a tradition, which is illustrated further by the curious rock-cut church Surp Garabed in Cappadocia, of which I give an illustration. There are comprised in this valuable monument of the early age, two churches, each formed like a stadium (*δρομικὴ σχήματι*), and each of them furnished with a stone altar cut in the body of the living rock. The principal altar of the singular early church of Dara, in Mygdonia, is similarly rock-hewn.^k

We possess, however, a source of evidence as to the æsthetic character of Christianity which authenticates, and completes, the proof to be derived from the monuments and the literature of the primitive church. I refer to that afforded by the Apocalypse of John the Divine, to the examination of which, as an illustration of the sentiments, and of the ecclesiology, of the first age, we will now turn our attention.

This venerable monument of christian antiquity furnishes in itself a complete refutation of the calumnies of Gibbon, and of the far too sweeping conclusions often drawn from the expressions which are made use of by many of the early fathers. It is, as a mere matter of fact, patent to every reader, essentially æsthetic. It would be difficult to find even a mediæval treatise in which the artistic character of Christianity is so conspicuously displayed. Its whole imagery is derived from the material world, and is cast in a ceremonial mould. Architectural and ritual notions form the groundwork of the whole so unmistakably, that the apologies of the Protestant commentators may dispense us from any necessity of enlarging upon this obvious characteristic of the vision. That a religion which produced in its first age a work so imaginative and so æsthetic, was in its essence iconoclastic, is a proposition which requires to its acceptance a larger credulity than belongs, perhaps, to any but a professed sceptic.

Nor is it admissible to regard this noble poem as an exceptional work—the product of the over-heated brain of some oriental mystic. A careful examination of the book will show that the ceremonial and the ritual arrangements which it assumes are simply those of the first

^j Texier and Pullan, p. 12.

^k Texier and Pullan, p. 52.

ages of our religion, and that its imagery is neither jewish nor pagan, but is derived directly from contemporary christian sources.

That it owes its origin to jewish ideas, or that it borrowed its ecclesiology from that of the jewish temple, will be sufficiently disproved in the sequel. We have then to consider from what source the material elements of the vision are, presumably, derived.

With this view let us place side by side with the Apocalypse of John the obviously parallel visions of Ezekiel and Zechariah; the framework of which is supplied, as is everywhere admitted, by the contemporary temple-worship. What these seers had before their mind's eye was, in short, an idealized Mosaic ritual, celebrated in an idealized Solomonic temple. From this it is obvious to presume that the distinctly parallel and distinctly Christian vision of St. John Theologus is similarly based upon the Christian ritual of the age in which the writer lived, and that as our knowledge of the jewish rite helps us to understand the utterances of Ezekiel and Zechariah, so from the Apocalypse we may, by the inverse process, obtain evidence of the ceremonial of early christian times. This *prima facie* presumption is confirmed by a critical study of the book.

- With the vision described in chap. i. 10, and continued to the end of chap. iii., our argument is not directly concerned; but with the opening of chap. iv. commences a sublime religious drama, which comprehends the whole history of the christian Church, and which consummates in the final restitution of all things, as imaged in chaps. xxi. and xxii.

With the prophetic and spiritual interpretation of the vision we are not here concerned. What I wish to insist on is that a distinct and consistent image of an actual existent temple was present to the consciousness of the seer from the first opening of the heavenly door (chap. iv.) to the final transition to a new and better order of things, still, alas! future (chap. xxi.). It requires some study to enable one to realize this essential consistency of the vision, in consequence of the numerous episodes which interrupt the continuity of the inspired drama; but when the notion is once clearly grasped, that a definite visible sanctuary, and ritual, was present to the mind of the seer, a flood of light is thrown upon this otherwise obscure book, and what seemed at first sight a mass of grotesque imaginations, appears as an orderly and systematic whole. Just as the visions of Ezekiel and of Zechariah are based upon the temple and its ritual, and would be unintelligible to one who knew nothing of these, so is the vision of the Apocalypse shaped upon the model of christian ecclesiology.¹ The heavenly temple seen by St. John is simply an idealized christian basilica. The ritual, which his vision throughout presumes, is simply an idealization of early christian rites. Protestant commentators, compelled to ignore this obvious fact, have made of the Apocalypse, not a revelatory vision, but a fantastic dream, in which the same word bears, now a classical pagan, now a jewish, and now a christian sense, as suits the convenience of the interpreter.^m

Let us then, accepting the presumption which the parallel visions of Ezekiel and Zechariah, with their obvious relation to the ceremonial of the Old Law, creates, examine in the light of this presumption the christian Apocalypse.

¹ P. 10. This fact is well illustrated by a comparison of the obviously parallel visions in Zechariah (chap. iv.), and in the Apocalypse (chap. xi.), of the "two witnesses," the "two anointed ones" (cf. Zech. iv. 11, 14 with Rev. xi. 4). In the Jewish vision these "anointed ones" are compared to the seven-branched lamp, fed with oil (Zech. iv. 2, 11, 12), which burned in the holy place of the Jewish temple. In the Christian vision the "two witnesses" are similarly compared (Rev. xi. 4) to "the two candlesticks" (not *λαμπάδες*, but *λυχνίαι*, *candelabra* in the Vulgate), to the "two lights" or lighted tapers, which have ever accompanied the Christian eucharistic rite.

^m This is virtually admitted by Alford, iv., pt. 2, p. 631.

"A throne is set in heaven" (iv. 2), the centre and commanding feature of the whole heavenly edifice; as was, in every basilica, the *cathedra* of the bishop in the centre of the apse, who there presided over the whole assembly.

"And round about the throne four-and-twenty thrones, and upon the thrones four-and-twenty presbyters sitting" ^a (iv. 4). These presbyters, as we learn later on, are also priests. They are described (v. 8-10) as praising God, who has "made us unto our God, kings and priests" (βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερείς). That is to say, they, together with the four living creatures (ζῶα), constitute the governing body of the church, the hierarchy (βασιλεία), and, further, are, individually, priests (ἱερείς).

Before the central throne burn (iv. 5) "seven lamps," ^o a common feature in the early basilicas. In front of it is extended a pavement "of glass like unto crystal" (iv. 6), as distinguished from the pavement of the choir, which, as we shall see later on, was "as it were of glass mingled with fire" (xv. 2).

Within the semicircle, formed by the central throne and the thrones ^p of the presbytery, stand four living creatures (iv. 6), the representatives, possibly, of the four primitive patriarchates. ^q In its centre is placed the altar (θυσιαστήριον, vi. 9; viii. 3; ix. 13; xvi. 7), described as being of gold, and quadrangular in form, with the customary two lights, "two candlesticks" (λυχνίαι; *candelabra*, Vulg. xi. 4). ^r

At the altar stands the celebrant, and upon it is the victim of the sacrifice, "a lamb (ἄρνιον) as it had been slain" (*agnus tanquam occisus*, Vulg. v. 6), standing, *i.e.*, in the living posture, not lying dead; alive, but with all the marks upon it of its death-wounds. ^s

The sacrificing priest is shrouded from view by the curtains of the baldachino. During the progress of the heavenly rite his voice, a human voice, is heard, ^t but he is not seen until

^a The same word (θρόνος) is used for the cathedra of the heavenly bishop, and for the seats of the four-and-twenty presbyters (πρεσβυτεροι, v. 4). The Vulgate translates the latter by the word *sedilia*, which is, as is well known, the traditional name for those seats provided, upon the epistle side of the altar, for the celebrant and his assistants, the only remnant in a medieval church of the semicircular range of seats for the presbyters, so characteristic a feature of the early basilicas.

^o λαμπάδες, not λυχνίαι (*candelabra*, Vulg.), as in xi. 4.

^p It is striking to find the expression κύκλος τοῦ θρόνου (iv. 6), suggesting as it does the apsidal form of the early churches. Strictly speaking, the apse is of course a semicircle, but this slight inaccuracy seems characteristic of early times, since the semidome, by which the apse is ceiled in, is constantly termed the hemisphere (as in Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iii. 38), although speaking exactly it forms but the quarter of a sphere.

^q Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome. I only throw this out as a mere suggestion. The right of Jerusalem to rank as a Patriarchate was long denied, and was only gradually established in the teeth of opposition.

^r Alford, ignoring christian archæology, says on this passage, "It is somewhat difficult to say whence the αἱ δύο λυχνίαι has come."

^s It may be noted in passing, although we are not here concerned with the interpretation of the vision, but only with the elements of its visible presentation, that the victim, the priest at the altar, and He who from the central throne presides over the whole *ecclesia*, would appear to be all three personifications of the God-man, under the several aspects of the one victim, the one priest, the one head of the church: thus the victim (in xvii. 14) and the priest (in xix. 16) are each and both "King of kings and Lord of lords." There is nothing anthropomorphic in the vision. God *become man* alone is presented in a visible form. God in His unapproachable essence is never seen. His presence is indicated, if at all, by awful thunderings and, to us, inarticulate voices (iv. 5; viii. 5; xi. 19). I may add that the diminutive form ἄρνιον (not ἄρνός) is, in this application, peculiar (as Alford observes) to the Apocalypse. It may suggest, perhaps, the material aspect—as the ὡς ἐσφαγμένον, the mystical conception—of the *oblatio munda* of the New Law (Mal. i. 11).

^t "Loose the four angels" (ix. 13), "Pour out the vials of the wrath of God" (xvi. 1); and, again, "It is done" (xvi. 17), recalling the *consummation est* of Calvary.

after the communion, "the marriage supper of the Lamb" (xix. 9), when he for the first time comes forth from the altar-sanctuary, and is seen by St. John.

The altar is concealed from view by curtains. The space so enclosed is termed σκήνη, (*tabernaculum*, Vulg.^u xiii. 6; xv. 5), with an allusion to its surrounding veils. It is also frequently termed simply ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.^v These curtains are partially withdrawn on certain rare occasions during the progress of the vision (viii. 2; xi. 19, and xv. 5). When this occurs the altar itself is seen (viii. 3), and in conjunction with it, or possibly synonymous with it, "the ark of the testament of God" (xi. 19).^w

There is engaged in the service of the altar a vast body of ἄγγελοι, indefinite in number, though not innumerable (v. 11). These are not *angels*, in the sense of "ministering spirits," but, as throughout the first portion of the vision, ecclesiastical dignitaries, "angels of the churches" (i. 20), prelates. Of these there are two bodies of seven each, the deacons and subdeacons of the heavenly liturgy.^x To the former, the deacons, are given, in one of the episodes of the vision, trumpets (viii. 2, 6); to the latter, the subdeacons in the same way are committed later on the vials of the divine wrath (xv. 7). These are not the normal implements of their respective ministries, but are received by them at a particular time for a particular purpose, the execution of which forms an episode, interrupting for a while, the progress of the liturgy itself.

It is the function of another of the ἄγγελοι to offer the incense (viii. 3; xiv. 18). He stands, as thurifer, by the altar, and bears a golden censer (λιβανωτός), the glowing embers of which, after the incense is spent, are cast by him upon the earth (viii. 5).

These altar-ministers are represented as in function, either about the altar, within the veils (viii. 3; xiv. 18), or otherwise, according as the progress of the heavenly ritual requires.

In addition to the deacons, the subdeacons, and the thurifer, there is, as I have said, a vast body of attendant ἄγγελοι, whose station is also in the apse, "round about (κύκλῳ) the throne, and the beasts, and the elders" (v. 11).^y

^u *Tabernaculum* is used by ancient authors for the military tent of troops in camp. Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle near the well-known "Elephant and Castle" (*taberna*), is so named, because St. Jerome adopted the word *tabernaculum* to describe the sacred tent of the Mosaic worship, and was followed in this, as in other details, by the compilers of our Authorised Version.

^v The word ναὸς is used on two occasions (vii. 15; xi. 1) in a wide sense, as including the whole basilica, with the exception of the narthex (xi. 2). As a rule it appears to signify the space about the altar (cf. xi. 19; xiv. 15, followed, as it is in the next verse, by the mention of an angel "from the altar"; xv. 5, 6, 8; xvi. 1, where the voice from the ναὸς is described; ib. 17, as "out of the altar"; ib. 7; xvi. 17; xxi. 22).

^w St. Chrysostom alludes to the custom of surrounding the altar by veils and to their withdrawal after the consecration in the following passage: "The sacrifice is brought forth, and when Christ, the Lamb of God is offered, when you hear this signal given,—let us all join in common prayer,—when you see the veils withdrawn, then think you see heaven opened, and angels descending from above." Homil. iii. in Ephes., quoted by Bingham, viii. 6, 8.

^x Seven deacons and seven subdeacons may to this day be seen, in functions of unusual solemnity, in the churches of France and elsewhere. It was also a custom of the English church. (See "Sarum Consuet.," cap. 93.)

^y Thus in the heavenly ceremonial even the lower offices of the altar-ministry are discharged by those who, in order and rank, are presidents, or angels of churches: as on some great occasions in the Vatican basilica, when the pope is celebrant, bishops serve as deacons, and even, I believe, as acolytes. The special powers of the higher orders of the hierarchy, are accumulated upon, and include the lower. A bishop is a priest *and something more*, a priest is a deacon *and something more*. Thus the Apostle Paul repeatedly terms himself a deacon (Eph. iii. 7; Col. i. 23, 25), and Peter, though the first in order of the apostolic college, speaks of himself as a presbyter (1 Peter v. 1), as does also St. John (2 John i.; 3 John i.). Timothy, too, who was certainly a presbyter, if not also a bishop, is termed a deacon (1 Tim. iv. 6).

Below the altar are seen the souls of the martyrs, "of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony (*μαρτυρία*) which they held" (vi. 9), just as their mortal remains rested in the confessional crypts beneath the altars of the basilicas.² The parallelism here between the earthly and the heavenly sanctuaries is well brought out. This primitive custom of depositing the bodies of the martyrs of the faith within the church, and under the sanctuary itself, is the more remarkable, as the old roman law forbade interments within sacred precincts, and even in their vicinity.

The floor of the apse (*κύκλος*), the "sea of glass like unto crystal," is therefore elevated, as in a basilica, above the general level of the pavement of the church, so that the souls in the heavenly *confessio* beneath the altar, are visible to the seer in the nave.

In advance of this, and on a level, or nearly so, with the body of the church, is a second pavement "of glass mingled with fire" (xv. 2). Upon this lower platform stand the elect saints, "an hundred, forty and four thousand" (xiv. 1). These form the choir of the heavenly temple: they sing, "as it were; a new song," which none but they can learn (xiv. 3).^{aa} Their number is definite and precise.^{bb} They are marked off in a very distinct manner from the rest of the assistance; just as in the basilica, the choir is enclosed from the nave, within which it is placed, by a low wall of marble.

Beyond and about this elect choir of the saints stand the great unnumbered body of the saved; the congregation of this ideal temple, "a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues" (vii. 9).^{cc}

Further still and beyond the nave extends, as in the basilicas, the narthex, "the court (*atrium*, Vulg.) which is without the temple" (xi. 2). This, following the primitive use, is open, as the nave itself was not, to those who were not christians. "It is," says one of the *ἄγγελοι* to St. John (xi. 2), "given up to the Gentiles."

There is thus indicated very clearly, in this mystical monument of primitive antiquity, the general distribution of the contemporary material churches, or at least the existence of that type, or idea, of the christian house of God, which we know to have been realised, in monuments still extant, less than two centuries later.

Beside the ecclesiological or, as I may almost venture to say, the architectural details^{dd} of the vision, there are many which illustrate, in other departments of religious art, the æsthetic character of the christianity of this early age. There is a distinction of ceremonial vestments indicated. The character of these, whether close fitting, and with sleeves, or loose, ample and

² There is a very touching allusion at once to this characteristic feature of the early basilica, and to its parallel in the heavenly sanctuary, in the vesper-hymn of the roman breviary for Holy Innocents' day—

" Vos prima christi victima,	Aram sub ipsam simplices
Grege immolatorum tener,	Palma et coronis luditis."

^{aa} Described in xv. 3, as "the Song of Moses, the Servant of God, and the Song of the Lamb."

^{bb} As those of the post-resurrection draught of fish (John xxi. 11), "Great fishes, an hundred and fifty and three," in contrast with the vaguely "great multitude of fishes" (Luke v. 6), which broke the nets of the apostles on an earlier occasion.

^{cc} These are described as placed "before the throne and before the Lamb" (vii. 9), while the 144,000 stand "before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the presbyters" (xiv. 3). That is, the great unnumbered body of the faithful are generally in view of the episcopal *sedes* and of the altar, while the elect choir are close to the throne and to the presiding body of the clergy, though not within the apse itself (*κύκλος τοῦ θρόνου*, v. 11).

^{dd} The seer is bidden to "measure the temple of God" (xi. 1), and it is stated (xxi. 17) that the standard of measurement was not ideal or spiritual, but material and human. However profound the inner signification of the vision, it was presented to the seer as a sensible visual experience, capable of accurate mensuration, as any other extended visible object, in human feet and inches, "according to the measure of a man" (*μέτρον ἀνθρώπου*).

sleeveless, is well marked by the use respectively of the verb ἐνδύειν of the former, and περιβάλλειν of the latter.

The innumerable body of the laity are represented as clothed in "white robes" of linen, ample and sleeveless (vii. 9), and the same is the vesture of the bride of the Lamb (xix. 8). These are probably the white sleeveless chrisom-robes of the newly baptised.⁸⁸ Similar white robes are given to the martyr-souls under the altar, baptised as they had been in their own blood.

The choir of the 144,000 is vested in white linen, close fitting and sleeved, but ungirded. This is the vestment proper to the clergy in the Quire, of which the surplice (*super-pelliceum*) is a later amplification, designed to allow the wearing beneath it of the furred clothing common among the northern nations.

The vestment of the altar-ministers generally is indicated by that attributed to the seven subdeacons (xv. 6). A close-fitting sleeved white linen robe "girded with a golden girdle."⁸⁹ This is no doubt the girded alb, to this day the peculiar vestiture of the altar-ministers, as distinguished from the clergy assisting in quire. It may be asked why the deacons and subdeacons of the vision do not wear the dalmatic and tunicle, now the distinguishing decoration of these orders. It must, however, be remembered that the dalmatic was not worn by the deacons, even of the diocese of Rome, until the beginning of the fourth century.⁹⁰

The four-and-twenty presbyters are described (iv. 4) as vested in ample white ἱμαρία (*vestimenta*, Vulg.). This is probably the *casula* or *planeta*, the *phelonion* of the oriental churches and the "vestment" of our old english inventories. On their heads they wear golden mitres (στεφάνοι, not διαδήματα).⁹¹ Of the vestiture of Him who presides over the whole heavenly *ecclesia* the seer, with characteristic reticence, gives no indication.

The celebrating priest is only toward the conclusion of the vision (after the communion, "the marriage supper of the Lamb") revealed to sight, though his voice has several times been heard from within the altar-veils. He is then described as vested, like the four-and-twenty elders, in the ample ἱματίου, or *planeta*, but while those of the presbyters are white, his is blood-red (xix. 13). He has further a head-dress of many crowns (διαδήματα)⁹² in distinction from the στεφάνοι, or mitres, of the twenty-four presbyters.

Sufficient has, I think, been said to bring out clearly the value of the vision as an evidence of the æstheticism of early christianity.

That the Apocalypse assumes the christian and not the jewish ceremonial, is clear upon a careful examination of the book, and from a comparison of its ritual with that of the Mosaic law.

⁸⁸ They are described (vii. 14) as "made white in the blood of the Lamb." Those who were baptised, in the early church, on Easter Eve (a custom to which our collect for that day, as also the prayer in the corresponding Sarum use, "ut quos aqua baptismatis abluis, etc.," and the blessing of the fonts on that day has reference) retained their white chrisom-robes until Low-Sunday, when they were laid aside. Hence this day is termed in the breviaries, *dominica in albis depositis*.

⁸⁹ The same sleeved and girded robe is described in i. 13 as the vesture of the "one like unto the Son of man." Its length is here indicated, it is "a garment down to the foot."

⁹⁰ This privilege was conceded to them by Pope Sylvester (A.D. 314-336). See the *Institutiones liturgicæ* of Fornici, p. 47.

⁹¹ The early form of the episcopal mitre was, as is well known, very different from that elevated shape into which it has gradually grown. It was a cap, surrounded by a fillet, or στεφάνος, somewhat broader in front than at the sides. The *infulæ* I take to represent the ends of this circlet, pendent from the knot at the back of the head.

⁹² Διαδήμα, say Liddell and Scott, is used especially for the band which encircled the turban (τάρα) of the Persian king. On a raised head-dress of this character we must conceive the "many crowns" to be arranged, circlet above circlet.

I have already referred to the contrast of the seven-branched oil-lamp of the Jewish Temple, and the two candlesticks of the christian vision. Similarly as regards the ceremonial use of incense, although in both rites censers are used, there is no "altar of incense" in the heavenly basilica.

That distribution of the Jewish temple was as follows :—

1. The court of the Gentiles.
2. The court of the Israelites, in the centre of which was the altar of sacrifice.
3. The Holy Place (*ἁγία*) in which stood the seven-branched oil-lamp, the table of the shew-bread (*ἡ τράπεζα καὶ ἡ πρόσθεσις τῶν ἄρτων* Heb. ix. 2), and the altar of incense (*θυμιατήριον*).
4. The Holy of Holies (*ἁγία ἁγίων*), within which was the Ark (*κιβωτός*).

The christian rite, as indicated by the Apocalypse, has—

1. The atrium, or narthex, "given unto the Gentiles" (xi. 2).
2. The nave, including—
 - a. The place of the "great multitude which no man could number" (vii. 9), the laity.
 - b. That of the choir of the 144,000, which, as in the basilicas, forms an enclosure within the nave.
3. The sanctuary (*ναὸς* in the narrower sense), comprising—
 - a. The place of the martyr-souls beneath the altar.
 - b. The apse above, with the throne of the presiding Head of the Church and those of the four-and-twenty presbyters.
 - c. The altar of sacrifice (*θυσιαστήριον*) and the space included within its veils.

The contrast between the two rituals, the Jewish and the Christian, is thus very marked. The sacrificial altar which, in the old rite, stood exposed to the view of the laity, in the midst of the court of the israelites, is in the christian ceremonial withdrawn from their view, shrouded by veils, and placed in the centre of the innermost sanctuary. It is at this altar of sacrifice that incense is offered in the Christian rite and there is no separate "altar of incense."

The central feature of the Jewish ritual is the "ark of the covenant;" the centre of the newer rite is the altar, which, in the earlier ceremonial, occupied a more public and less sacred position.

Similarly, "the two candlesticks" of the new law are described as standing before the presiding God-man (xi. 4), that is, in the apse and about or upon the altar; whereas the seven-branched lamp stood in "the holy place" and not in the "holy of holies."

Again, the "table of the shew-bread" in the holy place is a characteristic feature of the Jewish rite, which is wholly wanting in the apocalyptic basilica, because the christian vision assumes, from its commencement, the presence upon the altar of the sacrificial victim, so that no *table of prothesis* is required.

The ritual of the Apocalypse is conceived upon other lines than that of the Mosaic ceremonial. The *antiquum documentum* gives place *novo ritui*. There are, without doubt, expressions made use of which are borrowed directly from the older dispensation, which the newer rite was destined "not to destroy, but to fulfil" (Matt. v. 17), but the distinctively new and christian character of the vision is unmistakeable.¹¹

The value of the book, as an evidence of the æstheticism of early christianity, is not affected by the questions which have been raised as to the precise date of its composition. It presents, however, indications of a very early origin. I have already referred to one, the fact that while the celebrant wears the *ἱματίον*, or vestment (*casula*), the two bodies of seven *ἄγγελοι* wear the girdled alb, and not the dalmatic and tunicle, which only began to come into use in the fourth century. Another similar piece of evidence is afforded by the fact that no mention or allusion

¹¹ Certain features of the vision seem derived from neither source. Such are the "harps (*κithάραι*) and golden vials" of v. 8, unless indeed, as Alford suggests, the latter are simply censers (*λιβανωτοί*).

is made to the existence of *aisles* in this ideal basilica. The colonnades which opened into the side-aisles were so striking a feature of the basilicas that they appear even to have determined the name, but there is no allusion to them in the Apocalypse. Obvious as is the symbolical significance of pillars (cf. Gal. ii. 9 ; 1 Tim. iii. 15 ; Rev. iii. 12), there is no mention of them in the vision. Had it occurred after the aisled basilica had come into existence, one can hardly conceive but that this higher type of a christian church would have supplied the framework of its ecclesiology ; as at a later date it would not have been the humble village church, but the grander cathedral, which would have furnished the model of an ideal sanctuary. But it is not so. The idea is clearly that of an aisleless nave, with an enclosed area for the choir and an elevated apse for the presiding clergy and the altar : the vision contemplates, in short, the simplest type of the earliest christian churches.

The ceremonial is latin rather than byzantine. The confessionary crypt, to which one can hardly fail to see an allusion in the position assigned to the martyr-souls "under the altar" (vi. 9), is not a common feature of the oriental churches. There is no *iconostasis*, otherwise the President and the four-and-twenty presbyters would have been concealed from view, as well as the altar and its *κιβωτὸς* ; whereas the former are seen from the commencement of the vision (iv. 2, 4), while the latter are not exposed to view until the baldaquin curtains are, at a later stage of the liturgy, drawn aside (xi. 19). The *iconostasis* is, in fact, not a primitive, but a medieval invention, corresponding to the solid rood-screens of the monastic quires, and the more open ones of the parochial churches.

We have thus indicated to us in the vision a temple of highly artistic character, arranged upon definite ecclesiological principles : we see in progress an august ritual, with all the pomp of sacred vestures and utensils, of lights, of incense, and of music.

The "Apocalypse of John the Divine," admitted to be a monument of the earliest age of the Church, thus furnishes of itself a sufficient refutation of the theory that christianity was, in its origin, iconoclastic, or was even indifferent to those arts which have, at every period of the world's history, ministered to the religious sense of mankind. This is a point which it is of the first importance to establish, or the history of church architecture in any country would be but an account of the decline of its christianity.

CHAPTER II.

IN the foregoing chapter I attempted a survey of the progress of Church Architecture during the earlier ages of christianity. We may now turn our attention nearer home, and enter upon the consideration of the history of the art in our own country.

It must not, however, be forgotten that in the review which we have just completed, our attention has been for the most part confined to those types of architecture alone, with which the history of our own English art is connected.

There is one great branch of the subject which I have not touched upon, because its examination would throw little light upon the history of architecture at home.

It must, however, be remembered that, to a complete view of the whole subject, an acquaintance with the architectural history of Eastern Christendom is absolutely essential.

I have dwelt almost entirely upon the origin and history of the basilican type, because from it, mainly, is derived the developement of English church architecture; but it is not the only type nor necessarily the earliest. We have seen how Constantine in his letter to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, leaves to his judgment, the decision whether the church to be built should be ceiled with wood or roofed in another manner. I have no doubt that the meaning of the alternative was this—Shall the church be basilican in plan, or shall it be byzantine—shall it be designed in the manner of old Rome or in that of New Rome? The characteristics of the byzantine model are the cruciform plan, instead of the long nave and aisles of the basilica: few bays of great size, and forming squares on plan, in lieu of many narrow ones: and above all the dome, in place of the timber roof. It will be seen that the two plans have almost nothing in common. Both were established types of church-building when Constantine turned his attention to the matter, for he built churches at Constantinople in both manners. I cannot but think that the emperor's reference of the type of building to be adopted, not to his prefect, or to his architect, but to the judgment of the Bishop, is significant; and points to the fact that these two types were even then matters of ecclesiastical tradition and not merely of architectural taste. Our course, however, takes us now far away from this great branch of church architecture (of which the crowning glory is Justinian's vast dome of St. Sophia, at Constantinople), to

the humbler theme of British and early English art.

We have almost nothing to guide us as to the architecture of the first British christians. Some light may, however, be thrown upon the question by a reference to the early churches of Ireland.

Ireland was christianised, from Britain, early in the fifth century. At that time, when the invasion of Alaric had compelled Honorius to withdraw the legions, and with them too the civil officials, from Britain, St. Patrick, who describes himself as at once a Britain and a Roman, crossed over into Ireland to effect the conversion of the pagan "Scots."

It was from Britain, therefore, that the Irish must have received whatever type of church architecture we find them to have adopted, but it is only fair to credit with the extreme rudeness of character of these works the Irish disciples, and not their British teachers. It is impossible to suppose that the Britons after five centuries of roman civilization, when their connection with Rome had only just been severed, could have been in that state of almost primitive barbarism which the early irish churches seem to indicate. In Britain we find great roman roads driven across the country, just as in Italy or in Gaul: we find the remains of roman villas, finished with all the luxury of Rome itself: we have specimens of their glass and their pottery showing all the refinement of the cultured artisan: and roman altars and sarcophagi, bearing inscriptions which, in the precision of their execution, and the correctness of their wording, are not behind those of the capital itself. The art-work of roman times of which we have remains in this country shows us, in the largeness of its amount, that the work must have been produced by native workmen, and not by a few imported artists, and it betokens a high state of advance in civilization and general culture.

It is impossible therefore to suppose that upon the withdrawal of the roman administration, civilization retired too. It is to the frightful devastations of the Saxons that we must attribute the destruction of the roman civilization of Britain, and we must believe that St. Patrick, and the succeeding british missionaries, accustomed though they were in their own country to churches of roman architecture, perfectly civilized in character and even magnificent, were unable to impart to the Irish the skill and knowledge which such works require.

The early irish oratories are built without mortar, with walls converging upwards in curved lines till they meet at the ridge; and the churches are only a little less rude. In them the walls are indeed upright, but the sides of the windows and doorways incline inwards in a strange cyclopean manner. They are roofed sometimes with stone, but where of any size with wood. Nothing can be ruder or more uncultured than these simple buildings, and yet they have points of interest to which it is necessary to refer.

They lie always east and west, with an entrance to the west and a window to the east. Their plan is that of a double parallelogram, a nave in fact and sanctuary, united by an arch, which corresponds to the triumphal arch of the basilica and to the chancel arch of medieval churches. What is very interesting is the fact that the apse is never found. The eastern termination is always square. Across the east wall we generally find a stone bench, and in advance of this stands a stone altar. In this arrangement we see the parallel to the basilican apse, with its seats for the clergy, and its altar standing between them and the people. It is in fact a square version of the basilican plan.

When we consider the close connection, through five centuries, of Britain and Rome, then only recently broken off, this universal prevalence of the square-ended plan in the churches founded by the british missionaries is very remarkable. This plan was unknown in Rome, and probably not a single example of it then existed on the continent, for it is even at the present day most rare. But here in Ireland we find it universal. We cannot, I think, evade the conclusion that it was the prevalent plan in christian Britain, at any rate in the fifth century.

It is a striking fact that at the present day, fourteen hundred years after, it is still the prevailing plan of our english churches, and that still to this day in this custom we stand alone in christendom.

In the english churches of the middle ages the early british tradition is very closely followed, for until quite toward the end of the medieval period the high altar was invariably placed in advance of the eastern wall of the church, and not in contact with it, as is now the custom. The stone bench behind it was represented by *sedilia* on its southern side, but the altar still stood where it had ever done. It can only be in ignorance of the venerable antiquity of this square-ended form, that some in the present day are introducing, in place of it, the apse. A custom peculiar to these isles—older than the invasions of the Normans, of the Danes, and of the Saxons—is one not lightly to be abandoned to an ignorant caprice, or a morbid craving after novelty.

Christianity, no more than civilization, left our isle with the departing roman legions, nor was the former extinguished by the invasions of the anglo-saxon barbarians. There were many christian bishops in Britain in St. Gregory's time, as we know from his famous correspondence with St. Augustine. Such, however, was the antipathy of

the conquered British towards their pagan oppressors, that the celtic clergy would do nothing towards the conversion of their teuton conquerors, the consideration of whose inevitable perdition in a future world afforded perhaps some consolation, in despite of christian charity, to those who had suffered so bitterly from their triumph in this. The british ecclesiastics, with all their good qualities, were not at all anxious that Angles should have the opportunity of becoming Angels, and they seem deliberately to have declined any missionary efforts in behalf of those who had so brutally ill-used them.^a

The work, however, had to be done, and as those to whom it naturally fell, and who were bound by every principle of christian piety to undertake it, refused the task, it became the duty of the bishop of Rome, not only as Pope, but as Patriarch of the West, to take steps to ensure, at least its attempt. The mission of St. Augustine was the result of the culpable negligence, or worse, of the british christians, and the christianity of our England is to be attributed to a happy exercise of the patriarchal authority of the latin see.

"On the arrival of Augustine in Canterbury, he found the church of St. Martin already used by the christian Queen Bertha. This was, as we know, a romano-british structure.^b He found also a second, but in ruins; and this he made the nucleus of his metropolitan cathedral."

This church had, as is evident, I think, from the account of Eadmer the precentor, an apsidal termination at its western extremity. We are brought, therefore, to this inference that although the square east-end was so prevalent in Britain, that the british missionaries introduced it invariably, and established its use over the whole of christian Ireland; that there were, nevertheless, churches in Britain, and those of considerable importance, which did not follow this plan, but were apsidal. Bede gives us, as I think, a hint for the solution of this apparent anomaly. Of this ancient church, so recovered and restored, the historian states, "that it had been constructed as Augustine had learned originally by the labour of Roman believers," *ecclesiam quam inibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam fuisse didicerat*.^c Bede would hardly speak of the Britons themselves as Romans. This church was therefore in all probability the work of roman colonists and not of native christians. If this conjecture be correct, the distinction thus drawn between the work of the british christians and that of their roman masters is suggestive.^d Nothing is more natural than that "Roman believers" should have followed that type of church-building which, since

^a See Bede, Ecc. Hist. b. i. 22, ii. 2. Bede refers to Gildas, the british historian, as "mournfully taking notice" of this.

^b "Built," says Bede, "whilst the Romans were still in the island," Ecc. Hist. i. 26. ^c Ib. i. 33.

^d Just as in India, at the present day, had we succeeded in largely christianising the population, the churches of the native converts would undoubtedly be very different from those imitations of buildings in England which are erected there under the direction of the english engineers.

the time of Constantine, had become universal in Rome and on the continent: but the question still remains, whence came the British model?

The only possible answer seems to be, that this peculiar type prevailed in this island before the time of Constantine: that it dates in fact from the first introduction of christianity into this country—whether by St. Joseph of Arimathea, St. Paul, or by later missionaries: and that the apse, an introduction of the roman immigrants, was foreign to the traditions of the native church, and never became naturalised here. This square-ended plan has survived in a remarkable manner repeated attempts to supplant it by the apse. The first we have just alluded to, the constant immigration of Romans, bringing with them the ecclesiastical customs of their own country. Again, the roman missionaries to the Saxons naturally introduced the roman plan, but the primitive british tradition again re-asserted itself as we shall see as we proceed. At the norman conquest a similar struggle between the two types occurred. Again the british plan triumphed. Let us hope that from its present struggle, with an unnatural imitation of continental architecture and a feeble affectation of novelty, it may issue again successful.

As regards, therefore, the architecture of the christian Britons, we have little beyond the very probable assumption that they resembled the churches of Ireland, in being divided into a nave and sanctuary by a chancel arch, in having square east ends instead of apses, but with an arrangement of the altar and of the seats for the clergy in reality analogous to that of the roman basilicas. We have the further fact that, side by side with these, which represented the earliest tradition of the native church, there existed larger churches of the basilican plan, erected by the roman immigrants.

We now pass on naturally to consider the church architecture of the Saxon period. When St. Augustine in 602 came to Canterbury, he found, therefore, the church of St. Martin already assigned to the use of Ethelbert's christian consort. He found also, as I have said, a second church, but in ruins, which he determined to repair and to make his cathedral. The building thus restored existed until the year succeeding the Norman Conquest, when it was destroyed by fire. The only alteration which it had undergone, as far as we are aware, was that it was re-roofed by Archbishop Odo in 950, who at the same time added to the height of the walls. We possess most fortunately a description of this church given by Eadmer, who was precentor of the cathedral early in the eleventh century, and who in his youth had seen the building of which he speaks. "To these things," he says, "I, Eadmer, can bear witness, for I was then a boy at the school."

"This," he informs us, "was the very church which had been built by the Romans, as Bede bears witness in history, and which was planned to a certain extent in imitation of that church of the blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, in which his

reliques are duly honoured by the veneration of the whole world."

"The venerable Archbishop Odo had translated the body of the blessed Wilfrid, pontiff of York, from Ripon to Canterbury, and had worthily placed it, to use his own words, in a somewhat lofty receptacle, that is within the high altar,^e which was erected of rough stone and mortar in the eastern part of the presbytery and in contact with the wall."

"Furthermore there was another altar, placed at a convenient distance in advance of the high altar, which was dedicated in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, at which the Divine mysteries were daily celebrated. In which altar the blessed Alphege had solemnly deposited the head of St. Swithin, which, when he was translated from Winchester to Canterbury, he had brought with him, together with the relics of many other saints. These two altars were reached by an ascent of several steps from the choir of the singers. Below was a crypt which the romans term the *confessio*. This was formed after the likeness of the confessionary of St. Peter (at Rome), and its vault was raised so high that the platform above it could only be reached by ascending many steps. Within the crypt towards the east was an altar which held within it, as antiquity asserts, the head of the blessed Furseus. Enclosed within the curved portion of the crypt extended westward a single passage-way leading to the resting-place of the blessed Dunstan, which was separated from the crypt itself by a strong mass of masonry. For that most holy father lay buried at a great depth before the aforesaid steps, and a large and lofty tomb of pyramidal form was erected above him, having at the head of the saint the matutinal altar.

"Thence the quire of the singers, *psallentium*, stretched westward into the nave of the church, shut in from the crowding of the congregation by a becoming enclosure.

"About middle of the length of the nave itself were two towers, which projected beyond the aisles of the church. That towards the south had in its midst an altar dedicated in honour of the blessed pope Gregory, and in its side was the principal entrance of the church, which from of old even to the present day is known by the English as the *Suthdure*, and is often mentioned by this name in the law-books of the ancient kings. For all disputes from the whole kingdom, which cannot be legally referred to the king's court, or to the hundreds or counties, do in this place receive judgment.

"Opposite to this tower and on the north, was another tower built in honour of the blessed Martin, and it had about it cloisters for the use of the

^e "*In majori altari.*" This altar against the wall of the eastern apse had become the high altar in later times, but the second altar standing in advance of it, on the chord of the apse, must have been the high altar of Augustine's foundation, as is clear from the fact that its dedication is that under which he placed the whole cathedral-church. (Bede, Eccl. Hist. i. 33.)

monks. And as the first tower was devoted to the legal contentions and judgments of this world, so in the second the younger brethren were instructed in the knowledge of the offices of the church, for the different seasons and hours of the day and night.

"The extremity of the church was adorned by the oratory of Mary, the blessed Mother of God, the approach to which, such was its construction, was by a flight of steps. In the eastern part of this oratory stood the altar, consecrated in veneration of that Lady, and in it was enclosed the head of the blessed virgin Austroberta. When a priest celebrated the divine mysteries at this altar he had his face turned toward the east, and toward the people, who stood facing down the church.^f Behind the celebrant towards the west was the pontifical throne, constructed with handsome workmanship of large stones and cement. This stood removed some distance from the Lord's table, since it was quite in contact with the wall which enclosed the whole church. And this was the plan of the church of Canterbury."^g

In considering this interesting account, I may first note that Eadmer the narrator had accompanied Anselm to Rome, and that therefore he was well qualified to judge of the resemblance which he asserts to have existed between the Vatican basilica and the church of Augustine and Odo.

A short time back I had occasion to remark upon the resemblance between the church erected by Constantine at Tyre, as described by Eusebius, and the ancient St. Peter's. It is striking to see the very same model accepted as the type in our own Canterbury. It is clear, however, from the account of Eadmer that the church of Augustine differed in two important points from St. Peter's.

In the first place its principal high altar and its choir were towards the east, those of St. Peter's towards the west. In the second place, Canterbury had an apse at both ends. In place, therefore, of the atrium and the grand eastern entrances, we find, at Canterbury, a porch formed under the southern of the two towers which flanked the nave.

In this plan, of a church with apses at each extremity, we meet for the first time a new type and one which is not without interest. I have already dwelt upon the fact that in the early ages the altar stood commonly at the west end of the building, and the priest faced towards the people, whereas in a medieval church, while the priest retained his original position, the people having, as it were, wheeled round, were now behind him. The cause and manner of this revolution have always been a puzzle. I cannot but think that in this plan of a church with an apse at either end, we have a clue to the history of the change.

This plan is quite common in the churches of

^f "Sacerdos faciem ad populum, qui deorsum stabat, ad orientem versam habebat."

^g The original is given in Willis' "Canterbury," pp. 10 et seqs.

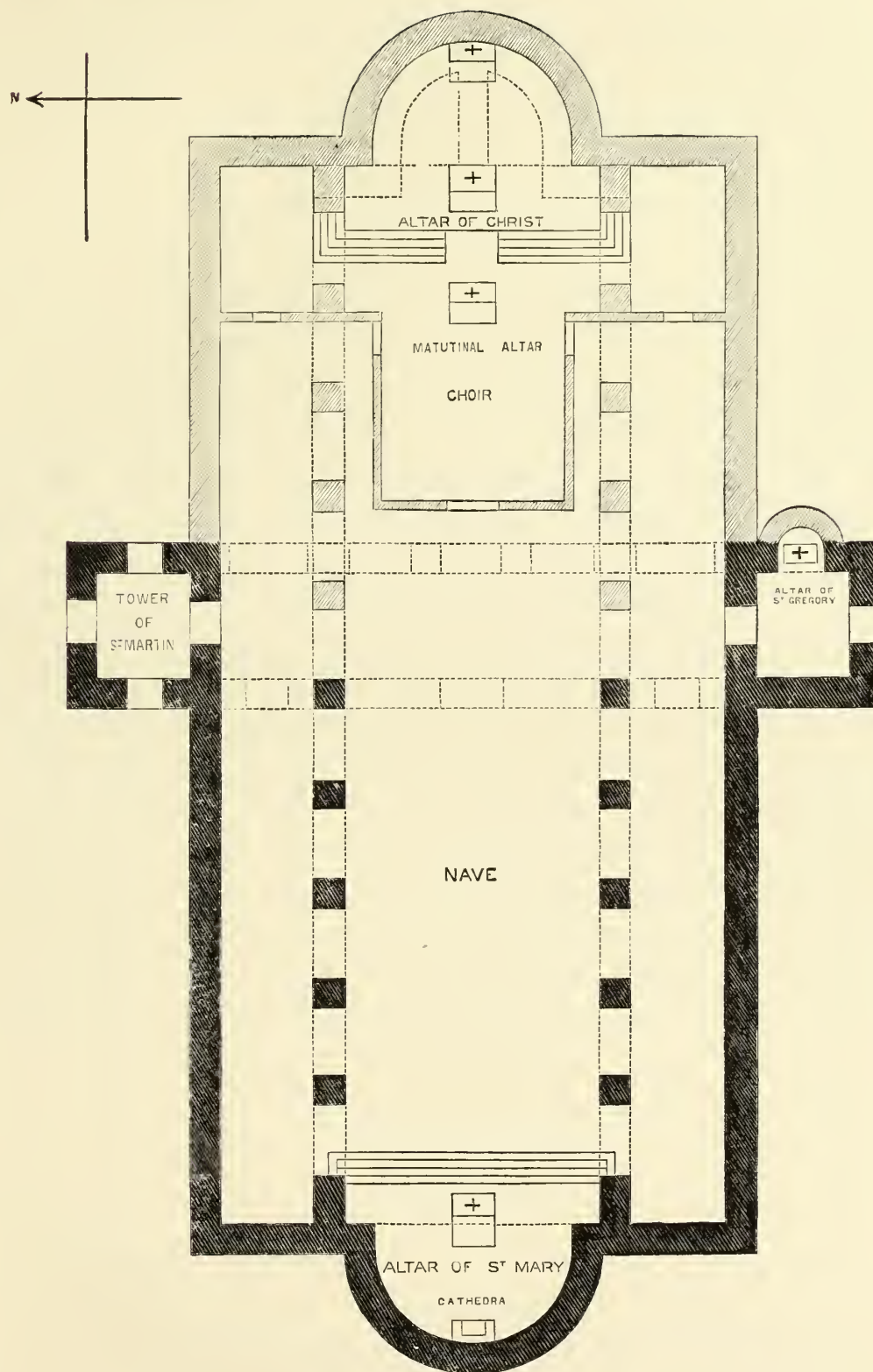
Rhenish Germany, erected during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, and sometimes even later. Well-known instances of it are afforded by the cathedrals of Treves, Mayence, and Naumburg, and the abbey of Laach. In France the cathedrals of Nevers, Besançon, and Verdun presented formerly a similar arrangement. An early instance of this plan is found in the curious ancient design for the monastery of St. Gall, supposed to be of the eighth or ninth century.

The question naturally arises, What was the origin of so singular an arrangement? I am inclined myself to attribute it to the growth of the monastic system and the increasing importance of the part occupied by such communities in the system of the Church.

We have seen that the choirs of the basilicas were of small size and offered little of the seclusion which the religious desired. In St. Peter's the choir of the canons was a small wooden enclosure placed on one side of the nave, with its altar abutting upon the respond of the great transept arch. A position so unimportant, and arrangements so simple, did not fall in with the growing importance, and the development, of the monastic system. The monks required both an altar of their own, and also more lofty screens for their enclosure than was consistent with the basilican plan. The difficulty was met, as I conceive, by leaving the original altar at the west end to serve still as the people's altar, and by adding at the east end a new apse to accommodate the altar of the religious.

A careful study of the plan of St. Gall and of the description of Augustine's church seems to support this conjecture. It is in the western apse at Canterbury that we find the throne of the archbishop, whereas the monastic choir is placed at the eastern end of the edifice. In the eastern apse stands the altar, which in Eadmer's time was the high altar, but which had originally been, as I conceive, the altar of the convent. The altar in the western apse, adjacent to the archiepiscopal throne and dedicated in honour of St. Mary, was undoubtedly, in early times, the great altar of the church. In the plan of St. Gall we see similar indications. The western apse has seats returned round it, as in all the basilicas, and it has before it a small choir such as we see at St. Clement and at Torcello. The eastern apse is elongated in a manner quite unlike the apse of a basilica. It has no seats for the clergy, but in front of it extends a very spacious choir, not at all basilican in its planning or proportions. It is to be remarked that both at Canterbury and in the plan of St. Gall the crypt, or confessionary for the reception of relics, is in the eastern or more recent apse.

The position of the towers described by Eadmer is so peculiar that I am inclined to think that they belong to the early roman building and stood at its eastern end, flanking possibly a portico or atrium. If this be so, Professor Willis, in his plan, has placed the towers somewhat too far towards the west. Eadmer merely states that the towers stood



THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CANTERBURY.
CONJECTURAL PLAN PREVIOUS TO THE FIRE OF A.D. 1067.

about the middle of the length of the nave (*sub medio longitudinis aule ipsius*).

I suppose therefore that what Augustine found was an aisled basilica, without transepts, with its apse toward the west in the usual manner, and with a portico flanked by towers at the east end. We may imagine him to have wished both to enlarge the church while restoring it, and also to provide a more ample choir: the old church, like many of the early basilicas, possessing, possibly, none. This he effected by removing the eastern entrance; and, extending the church in that direction, he added an apse with an altar for the monks, which, as time went on, became at last the high-altar of the church. The archiepiscopal throne continued to stand, or was then re-erected, in its primitive position, in the western apse. The formation of a porch under a southern tower was thus a sort of tradition of the original purpose of this tower as a part of the atrium.^h

Whether this be in truth the history of the church described by Eadmer, we cannot tell, but that it is the history of the invention of the double-apsidal plan there is, I think, little doubt. The problem to be solved was, how to provide in the same church an altar for a community, and one for the people. It is the same problem which is perplexing the authorities of St. Paul's Cathedral at the present time—how to provide, at once for the service of the chapter, and for the great popular services. The ecclesiastics of the sixth century solved the problem by introducing a second altar; and only by the same principle, somewhat differently applied, can the same difficulty be met at St. Paul's.

In this type then we see the transition between the primitive and the medieval plans. The old is represented in the western apse, the new, in that towards the east.

It is very characteristic of the history of the medieval church that the altar of the monks or canons, at first no doubt quite subordinate to the original high altar, where the bishop had still his throne, became gradually of more and more importance. In Eadmer's description it has usurped the title of high altar, though the throne still stands in its ancient place, before what is now simply the altar of St. Mary. This eastward high altar is further removed from the basilican traditions in being erected, as Eadmer tells us, in contact with the eastern wall instead of being placed in the centre of the apse. The date of the adoption of this, then novel, arrangement seems to be fixed by the statement that archbishop Odo, in 950, placed within this altar the relics of St. Wilfred. It is exceedingly probable that he then re-erected this altar, for the first time, in contact with the wall, and that we have here the beginning of that mode of arranging altars, which is characteristic of the later medieval and of modern times, in marked contrast with the usages of primitive antiquity.ⁱ

^h As was also, no doubt, its importance as a legal *curia*.

ⁱ In the old english, or Sarum rite, a compilation of St.

This western apse, a relic of primitive times, which had been preserved till the fire of 1067, was not retained in Lanfranc's rebuilding, which was completed in 1077. His church had transepts, a central tower, and an eastern limb of two bays with aisles, terminating in an apse, in which the throne was now placed. The altar of the monks therefore formed in the new church the centre of the whole, and its venerable rival no longer from the western extremity of the church, disputed with it the priority. In Lanfranc's building the change from the primitive model is complete: scarcely a trace of the basilican arrangement remains: and yet the monks were dissatisfied. The choir provided for them by Lanfranc was not deemed sufficiently imposing, and only twenty years later, during the episcopate of Anselm, the monks took down Lanfranc's eastern wall, and extended the church eastward to nearly double its original length, forming thus the work which Gervase calls, after the prior who completed it, "the glorious choir of Conrad." It thus may be said to have required a period of about six hundred years to transform the primitive basilica into the medieval church.

Eadmer tells us that in some parts the church, as restored by Augustine, was arranged in imitation of St. Peter's at Rome. This was doubtless in the confessionary, the description of which agrees remarkably well with what is known of the arrangements of the ancient basilica of the Vatican. Now it is remarkable that both in this church and in the plan of St. Gall this confessionary is placed in the eastern apse, and not, as at St. Peter's, towards the west. The following appears to me to be the explanation of this reversal of the ancient plan. In primitive times these confessionary crypts, though a characteristic feature of the typical basilica, were not by any means universal. The old Roman law forbade interments within even the neighbourhood of sacred places, and the sentiment survived the virtual abrogation of the law which had been its expression.^j It was only in special cases that it was set aside in favour of the honoured remains of some athlete of the faith; as where a church was erected over the burial-place of a martyr, or where his body, rescued from the amphitheatre by the piety of "devout men," was laid beneath its altar. As time went on the army of the martyrs was ever on the increase; and the ardour with which their relics were sought for, rendered it necessary to provide such crypts in all the large churches, even where no martyr's

Osmond, designed to combine the peculiarities of the anglo-saxon and norman ceremonies, the detached position of the high altar is very distinctly indicated. Thus we find the expression *thurificando altare circumat* of the incensing of the altar during the offertory ("Sarum Consuet.," cap. 25); and *principale altare circumquaque aspergat* of the aspersion (ib. cap. 68). The high altar is also in the same treatise spoken of as *altare in medio presbiterii* with an evident reference to its position standing thus free and detached in the midst of the sanctuary.

^j It is therefore the more remarkable to find in so early a monument of the primitive age as is the Apocalypse, an allusion, hardly to be mistaken, to this christian innovation (Rev. vi. 9).

grave, below the high altar, existed to suggest the arrangement. As the primitive western apses did not, in such cases, provide any crypt, we see an additional reason for the erection of the eastern apse and confessionary. The first examples of such crypts, as this of St. Augustine, followed closely the model afforded by those of the basilicas which did possess this feature. In later times the crypts were enlarged and lost their primitive character: while their original purpose, as a repository for the body of a martyr or confessor, was entirely lost, when the custom was introduced of raising the bodies of the saints above, instead of below, the sanctuary floor; on lofty shrines, instead of in a narrow crypt. Here too we see the gradual method by which the medieval idea modified and finally supplanted the primitive arrangements.

This interesting account of the church founded by the great missionary of the Saxons, itself consisting in part of the work of "roman believers," seems to me of great interest, and well deserving of the space which has been devoted to it in our survey of the history of english ecclesiology.

At Lyminge, near Folkestone, there have been discovered the foundations of the church erected by St. Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert,^k probably during the lifetime of St. Augustine. This also has an apse at either end. This evidence is very valuable, since it makes it almost certain that the similarly planned church at Canterbury, described by Eadmer, was actually, in the main, as he states it, the work of Augustine, and not of one of the succeeding saxon archbishops; though it consisted largely, as we have seen, of the work of a still earlier age.

In considering the case of the cathedral of Canterbury, we have been of necessity confined to a somewhat conjectural discussion of the plan of Augustine's church, since not a fragment of the actual building now remains from which to judge of its distribution. In the case, however, of "the basilica of St. Mary, the Mother of God, in Lyminge," we have more than mere written evidence.

This was, with possibly one exception,^l the first convent for women established in England: in it its foundress and first abbess received the veil (in 633), from the hands of Archbishop Honorius, and in it she was at length interred.^m Its foundations

have been discovered and have been investigated with great acumen by the rector and vicar, Canon Jenkins. They are formed of stones of large size, many of them being a yard or even more in length, set in solid concrete of lime and pebbles. The existing church does not occupy the site of the original basilica, but stands parallel with it, distant a few feet toward the north. Its older portions are, however, clearly pre-norman, and are built up of the *débris* of the earlier edifice. The rector attributes this latter work, with great probability, to Archbishop Dunstan, into whose hands the patronage passed upon the suppression of the convent in 965. The original church had been ruined by the Danes in 804, and "remained destitute," says an ancient writer quoted by Goscellinus (circa 1089), "until it fell into the hands of the Archbishops of Canterbury, who rebuilt it."

The foundations of the more ancient church, now exposed, are of two dates, those of its western portion being of an entirely different character from those of the eastern half. There is also indicated a cross-wall dividing the one portion of the church from the other. We have thus the remains of the work of three periods, all of them previous to the introduction of the norman style. If the church now in use was, in its original shape, the work of St. Dunstan, the eastern foundation of the basilical building must be attributed to St. Ethelburga—a conclusion which is confirmed by the remains of her burial-place, as described by Goscellinus, which are distinctly visible in the eastern apse.ⁿ It will follow from this that the western portion of the foundations belong to an earlier church, erected, like that at Canterbury, "by the original labour of roman believers," and conformed to the roman model of a westward apsidal sanctuary, with aisles terminating squarely.

If this conjecture be sound, the eastward addition, made by St. Ethelburga when she restored the edifice to christian worship, occupies the site of the *atrium*, or *narthex*, of the earlier roman basilica. This addition terminated toward the east in three apses, as did also the church of St. Martin, at Canterbury, similarly recovered to christianity by Augustine.^o This is an arrangement not to be met with in the ancient basilicas of Rome, but which became common in the west in later ages.^p

^k As St. Etheldreda of Ely was, in popular parlance, Audrey, so was St. Ethelburga known, in the familiar idiom, as Tata or Tate. Cf. Bede, "Ecl. Hist.," ii. 9.

^l Namely that of the nunnery founded by St. Eanswitha, niece to Ethelburga, at Folkestone, which is said to have been established three years earlier. Of this, nothing now remains: but a few years since were there discovered, as Canon Jenkins informs me, the foundations of a church, which in the character of their stonework and cement, agreed exactly with those of the western (roman) portion of the Lyminge basilica. The whole was, however, soon after its discovery, utterly demolished, and no plan of it was taken.

^m "Scimus enim Æthelburgam post necem regis, reversam et Limingæ conversatam, sacro velaminea bea to Honorio consecratam defunctam et ibi sepultam." *Goscellinus Contra B. Mildredæ usurpatores*, quoted by Canon Jenkins ("Archæol. Cantiana," ix. 206), to whose kindness I am in-

debted for valuable information upon the subject of this basilica.

ⁿ "I am more and more convinced," says Canon Jenkins, in a private letter, "that the eastern apse is the work of Ethelburga in 633, when the roman mode of building had become debased but not extinct." He adds with great truth, "We are apt to imagine too great a breach between the close of the roman occupation and the saxon colonisation of England."

^o Cf. "Archæol. Cant.," x. 102.

^p It was common in oriental christendom at a very early period. The church of the "white monastery," upon the hill near Thebes, attributed to St. Helena, has this peculiarity. (Curzon's "Monasteries in the Levant," p. 133.) Several of the early churches figured in Texier and Pullan's valuable work on Byzantine architecture exhibit the same plan. I may refer to the churches of St. Sophia and of St. Bardias

The process thus indicated will be seen to be precisely similar to that followed by St. Augustine, only thirty years earlier, at Canterbury. In each case the westward apse with its high altar was retained for the worship of the laity, while an eastward quire and sanctuary was added to the original building for the use of the monastic community. We have thus at Lyminge visible evidence of the plan and general distribution of a church erected during the roman occupation of Britain, and in accordance with the well-known type of such buildings in other parts of the empire; and also an additional confirmation of the truth of the explanation, which I have suggested, as to the mode by which the plan illustrated by St. Gall's, and so common in Germany, was reached.

The five centuries which preceded the norman conquest seem in contrast with the succeeding period as lost in gloom. We call them the dark ages, though to those who lived in them they were no doubt light enough, for all the practical purposes of life. "Do we always clearly know what we should understand—or, indeed, what we mean to express—when we hear or talk of the *dark* ages? Do we mean ages which were dark in themselves, and with respect to those who lived in them, or do we mean that they are dark to us, and that it is very difficult for us to form a clear idea of them? I suppose that we mean one and sometimes the other, and very frequently both, and in fact both are true; but it is better not to confound two ideas, which are in themselves perfectly distinct."⁹ The obscurity in which the history of these times is undoubtedly involved has not been lessened by the half-mythic accounts of them, contained in many modern works. "I have heard," says the author quoted above, "of a traveller at an inn, who wished to look out and see if it were day; and who returned to bed with a very wrong judgment on the matter, owing to his being in the dark himself, whereby he was led to open the glass door of a cupboard instead of a window; and I must say, that in trusting to the representations of some popular writers, you will be doing much the same thing."

It is only from the monuments which these ages have left to us, in literature and in art, that a clearer notion of their character is to be obtained. The amount of this evidence is not so small as is commonly assumed; and by a comparison of the various notices of the edifices erected during this long period, which are to be found in the writings of the time, with what is left to us of their actual remains, enough may certainly be learned to show us, at least, the general course of its architectural history.

The havoc wrought by the danish incursions in the eighth and ninth centuries, and the wholesale rebuilding of all the larger churches which followed the advent of the Normans, have combined to leave us but little of the architectural works of the

at Thessalonica, to that of St. Nicholas at Myra, and to two churches, the cathedral and that of St. Sophia, at Trebizond.

⁹ Maitland's "Dark Ages," vol. i., p. 4.

previous centuries, but there is nevertheless a certain number of such buildings remaining to us, greater than most persons are aware of; and I have myself found so many indications of saxon work and saxon design in our village churches, that I am convinced that the list might be very considerably increased by more careful observation—although the number of the monuments of these, as of later ages, is being steadily diminished by the progress of, what is termed, restoration.*

On the continent these remains are not less rare than in our own island, though no doubt more careful examination may add considerably to their number.

As examples well-known to antiquaries, I may mention the nave (*basse-œuvre*) of Beauvais, the churches of St. John at Poitiers, and of Quenqueville in Normandy, that at Lorsch on the Rhine, the western apse of the cathedral of Treves, and the older portion of St. Pantaleon at Cologne.

In Italy the monuments of this age are more numerous, and they furnish a fairly complete *catena* of examples which throw a flood of light upon the progress of the architectural art in our own country. Thus at Ravenna we may examine for ourselves buildings erected, speaking roughly, between the years 400 and 600; at Lucca, those of from 600 to 800; while those at Pavia bring us on to the year 1000; and the monuments of Pisa carry on the history to the end of the twelfth century.

"Ravenna," says my father, "is a new world of its own; an interval between the classic and the medieval periods, which we rarely see much of elsewhere; a piece of history which begins when the Romans were leaving Britain, and terminates about the time that they were returning thither as missionaries: the italian version of the mythic days of Arthur and Merlyn, a myth lighted up into plain unmistakeable fact. The days of Honorius, of Theodosius, of Justinian, and of the Exarchs are here illustrated in art, as distinctly as those of our Henry VII. are by his chapel at Westminster. The tomb of Valentinian nearly as good as new: those of Honorius, of Theodosius, and of Galla Placidia (his daughter), as plainly before you as Torregiano's monuments in the Abbey; and a host of archbishops laid to rest in sarcophagi almost as classic as those of pagan Rome, and as perfect as our own monuments of the 16th and 17th centuries. Lucca is only one step later. If the former in its later remains illustrates the days of the Exarchs, so does the latter that of the lombard kings. A majority of the churches here contain portions, some nearly—one quite—the whole, built by them. And this not as a mere fancy, such as led Thomas Hope and his followers to give the name 'lombardic' to the churches at Pavia, and to many like them, which

* That is to say, the practical working out of the false idea that the past can be galvanised, as it were, into life, and that an imitation of romanesque, for example, carried out in the last quarter of the present century is twelfth century work.

⁵ In a private letter, written from Italy in 1873, when I was working more particularly at this subject.

are in reality lombardo-german romanesque of three centuries later, but the actual work of these old Lombards themselves, built, it is true, not in any style of their own, but in the vernacular of Italy—that roman manner, in which our saxon forefathers attempted ignorantly to build—and a very good style it is. These churches are veritable basilicas—their columns, the ordinary corinthian—their arches and vaultings, the simplest roman—their windows narrow and plain, some having the mid-wall pillar. One of them, which no guide-book deigns to name or even the plans to mark, is absolutely perfect.¹ It is all of marble, and is clearly the italian version, or prototype, of our own saxon architecture, yet beautifully refined throughout. Its windows are from eight inches to a foot wide with semicircular heads cut out of single blocks of stone. Its apse externally is beautiful, with a delightful arched corbel-table, charmingly inlaid.

“Ravenna and Lucca seem to fill up the interval between the first barbarian invasions and the age of Charlemagne, and show that it was far from being so dark as one has fancied.

“The splendid fronts (of which one sees frequently pictures, etc.) at Lucca were put on, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to hide the plainness of the old lombard west ends. St. Michael’s has this later work continued all round to certain heights, the lombard work showing above, and preserved undisturbed in the interior. I had long known, and argued, that the churches of Pavia had nothing to do with the lombard kings, but were built under the rule of the german emperors; but, then, I had imagined the true lombardic style to be infinitely less refined than they: I now find it to have been far more so.”

These remains of the contemporary art of Italy throw light upon the architecture of our saxon ancestors, the intention of which is frequently obscured by the rudeness of its execution, and serve to explain the references to the roman manner of building, so frequent in the writings of Bede and others of the period.

There is little to be found now in Rome which illustrates this phase of the art, owing to the zeal for the rebuilding of churches which there prevailed during the flourishing times of the Renaissance. It is not, in fact, to Rome, but to Ravenna and Lucca that we must look for examples of what to Bede was “the roman manner.” From these works we see that the style in which our saxon forefathers were working was not the rude, almost barbarous, thing which their want of experience causes their works, studied alone, to suggest. It was, on the contrary, a perfectly refined and systematized mode of building, derived in an unbroken succession from the times of classic art, and already showing signs of the working of that vigorous christian common sense, which was destined to transform the *arcuated* style of old Rome, hampered, as it had ever been,

¹ It is a single-aisled basilica, without transepts, the nave terminating in an apse as at Lyminge and at Canterbury.

by the traditions of *trabeated* greek architecture, into the perfectly new manner of the later middle ages.

The style of these italian churches of the so-called dark ages differs from that of the classical period in being more rational and more free. The principles of scientific construction, which in the pagan roman architecture are concealed, too often, by an affectation of the primeval simplicity of Greece, are, in these works, for the first time, carried out in an untrammelled and logically consistent manner. The result is a style which, however simple, is yet reasonable, and, therefore, even beautiful, and which is big with the promise of the future.

Viewed by the light of these contemporary remains, our own saxon architecture acquires to our eyes a new character, and we are enabled to see, through all its rudeness, a meaning and a purpose which only failed to produce its legitimate effect in the developement of a new style, because its somewhat slow progress was at once arrested, and distanced, by the invasion of the more advanced art of the gallicised Normans.

The italian missionaries, not being architects or masons themselves, could only convey to the saxon artificers, in the untechnical language of amateurs, a description of the mode of building and planning churches, which prevailed in the country from whence they had come. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that they should have failed to impart, to their rude converts, a very intelligent appreciation of a style, which the latter had never seen, and of which they themselves had made no scientific study. It is, however, sufficiently clear that our saxon buildings were erected in a very rude imitation of the contemporary churches of Italy.

There is no feature more characteristic of saxon architecture than the use of rude pilaster strips. The imitation of the mode of bonding of such pilasters in the construction of quoins, and in the jambs of doorway and other openings, constitutes what is so well known as “long and short work.” This has sometimes been supposed to be a tradition of a wooden construction. It is certainly nothing of the kind. It represents simply the manner in which a classic pilaster is ordinarily constructed, as distinguished from the medieval method of forming a quoin. This system of construction is found in the ancient classic remains, and may be seen very frequently in modern Palladian work.² The pilaster is a sort of engaged column, and some uncertainty was always felt as to its proper constructional treatment. In its form it stood related to the monolithic column, while its engaged position made it in reality a part of the wall. These conflicting considerations were reconciled, in a manner, by constructing such pilasters mainly of upright stones, that they might retain as much as possible of the columnar character, but with a few bond-

² The “long and short” mode of constructing pilasters may be observed, for example, in the church of St. Martin-in-the-fields, by Charing Cross.

stones at long intervals, which were shallow in depth and long in their horizontal measurement.

Saxon "long and short work" is nothing but the tradition of this classic construction of the pilaster, which our forefathers continued to apply to the angles of their buildings, even when the pilaster, which had first withered to a meagre strip, was altogether omitted. The meaning of saxon work becomes clear enough when we compare it with the churches building at the same period upon the continent. In the churches of the lombard kings at Lucca, and in the tenth century work of St. Pantaleon at Cologne, and the western apse of Treves cathedral, we see in a reasonable and not inelegant form, the features which in our own examples are followed, clumsily always, and often ignorantly.

In many cases these pilasters are connected by arches, with a very classic effect: of this, a very excellent example is found in the exterior of the chancel at Repton: while in such examples, as the church at Bradford-on-Avon, the pilaster seems to be losing its classic character, and tending toward the romanesque treatment, in which the relation of the pilaster to the column is finally lost sight of.

Another feature not uncommon is the use of straight-sided triangular heads to doorways and windows in lieu of arches. I see no reason to attribute this treatment to a wooden origin, any more than the "long and short work." It is not a common mode of treating small openings in carpentry, and it seems rather the natural result of an effort to avoid the use of the arch proper, such as we see, in another form, in those arched heads which are cut out of a single stone. Straight-sided arches, so to call them, occur frequently in french romanesque—as in the domed church St. Front, at Perigueux—where the scientific nature of the construction, and the perfection of the detail, forbid us to attribute it to the habit of building in wood.

Although undoubtedly many churches were erected during the saxon period in wood,^v this mode of construction had, in fact, no influence upon the architectural style. Greek architecture is essentially wooden, and even in its most refined advance it never wholly lost the trace of its origin. But our rude saxon churches exhibit, in however crude a form, the principles of a style essentially arcuated—a style, that is, of which the typical forms are determined by scientific masonry. However rude and even barbarous in execution they may be, they are not rightly termed even *debased* roman. They are

roman indeed, but roman which has thrown off the greek swaddling-clothes. They exhibit a purely arcuated style, true in its science, however imperfect in its art.

The use of timber construction, however, does not imply necessarily a state of barbarism. I know of two timber churches, in Hampshire—one of the thirteenth, the other of the fifteenth century—both of which are admirable as works of art; and the timber houses of the later middle ages, and of the elizabethan period, are as refined and as admirable in every way as any stone buildings can be.

Another well-known peculiarity of the anglo-saxon style is the use of baluster shafts, very commonly turned in a lathe. This curious feature is found at every period of the style from the churches at Monks Wearmouth and Jarrow, erected by Benedict Biscop in 674 and 682 respectively,^w to the transepts of St. Alban's Abbey, built just after the Conquest. For some four centuries this strange method of ornamenting shafts prevailed. It was unknown to the ancients, and was discarded by the medieval builders, but it seems to have been very dear to the architects of the dark ages. It is curious to see the same principle, which, as we see it in saxon, we consider so barbarous, reappearing in the style of the early Renaissance. In the cinque cento, and elizabethan styles the enrichment of shafts becomes again a feature of architecture, and one which was then developed into extraordinary elegance. Yet in some of the more rude elizabethan balusters, we find forms with which saxon shafts compare not unfavourably. When we condemn as uncouth this characteristic feature of saxon architecture, it is only fair to remember that the principle of it reappeared in one of the most refined periods of later art, and produced then forms of extreme elegance and beauty. This idea of enriching the shafts themselves by mouldings and so forth, was in fact a new invention in architecture, with which the genius of the anglo-saxon architects is to be credited. The course which the development of the romanesque and of the medieval styles assumed did not allow of its legitimate growth, but when it was again taken up by the artists of the Renaissance, the capabilities of the principle were found to be unexpectedly wide. The anglo-saxon architects thus originated an idea, which after the whole of the middle ages had intervened, was at length to receive its fuller expansion, and to assert its value as a real addition to the elements of architectural effect: and when we admire the results which it has produced in such monuments as the screenwork of King's College Chapel, or the interior of St. Eustace at Paris, we should not forget that the system was first originated by the rude designers of our saxon churches.^x

^v Paulinus's first church at York was of timber, but this was only a temporary erection. Bede mentions a church at Doncaster (Campodunum) which was of wood, though its altar was of stone. ("Eccl. Hist.," ii. 14.) The church near Bamborough, at which St. Aidan died, was, as the story of his death, told by Bede (Ib. iii. 17), shows, of wood, as were the two churches which succeeded this upon the same site. The origin of the Saxon verb *getymbrian*, must be sought, not in christian England, but in the original home of our pagan ancestors among the forests of North Germany.

^w Bede, "Eccl. Hist.," iv. 18; v. 2.

^x So far was the system carried, that there has been discovered at Jarrow, as my father mentions, "a stone in which is sculptured, as a continuous ornament, a long row of these balusters represented on a miniature scale, as if they were so

It is clear from the churches erected during the four centuries and a half which intervened between the mission of St. Augustine and the invasion of the Normans, which have been preserved to us, as well as from the written descriptions of others, of much more importance, which are extant, that during this long period two distinct ecclesiological traditions were in conflict.

There is first of all, as the most obvious, the roman influence. British christianity, although it did not, probably, derive its first life from Rome, but was rather oriental in its origin, was yet influenced, necessarily, to a considerable extent, by the official conversion of the imperial administration of the province, which followed upon the peace of the Church.

The principal churches which were recovered to religion by St. Augustine and his companions were those which had been erected by the roman settlers, and not by the native christians. Their buildings were probably too humble in construction to have left any remains worthy of a reconstruction.^y

The roman missionaries imported, naturally enough, the fashion of building then prevalent in Italy. Common as the expression "the roman manner" is in Bede and other writers of the same period, we can see from their descriptions of the churches erected in this style, and from the actual remains of some of them, that it is to the manner in their day prevalent in Rome and in Italy that they refer, and not to that of the early roman basilicas.

The traditions, however, of the christianity of the imperial administration of Britain, concurred in the main with those which the missionaries brought with them. The most zealous of their successors were in constant communication with Rome. Benedict Biscop went several times to Rome, and was intimate with Pope Agatho.^z Even the liturgical music of Rome was introduced into England, and the arch-chantor of the vatican basilica, John, abbot of the monastery of St. Martin, came here (about 680) to instruct the clergy in the method of the plain-song as it was practised at St. Peter's at Rome.^{aa}

The Saxons, had in fact, no architecture of their own, properly so-called. Bede mentions a temple, with its enclosures, at Goodmanham, in the east riding of York, but this was clearly a wooden structure.^{bb} What we term saxon architecture is in reality but an english version of the contemporary art of Italy, with which the roman missionaries and their successors were well acquainted, and which they endeavoured, with imperfect success, to naturalise here. There is, strictly speaking, no such a

thing as saxon architecture. The fashion of building which prevailed in England from the reign of Ethelbert to that of the Confessor, was determined by the architects of Lucca and Pavia, whom our own inexperienced artists followed according to their lights. It is somewhat humiliating to observe how great is the distance between the italian model and the anglo-saxon imitation. Our saxon forefathers were, with all their good qualities, essentially rude, and their descendants long retained a considerable trace of this well-marked character. It is certainly striking to compare, as we may to some extent, the state of southern Britain during the roman occupation, with its condition during many succeeding centuries.

The evidence afforded by the remains of the roman villas all over the country is amply sufficient to show, that, in point of artistic culture, we are perhaps even now at a lower stage than was reached on this same soil of ours fifteen hundred years ago; while our railways are but a recent improvement upon the thoroughly scientific system of road-making which was carried out by the roman administration of Britain. During the saxon and the medieval periods, the few good roads that existed were those of the roman engineers. These were preserved in tolerable order by the care of the monastic orders. When, at the Reformation, these, as a rule, public-spirited corporations were dissolved, the roads of England fell into final neglect. The unscrupulous set of new men, into whose hands the lands of the religious orders then too generally passed, had of course no conscience, and recognized no duty, in respect of the property they had thus acquired, and the roads were completely neglected. Our eighteenth century literature illustrates, clearly enough, this result of the jobbery of the Reformation period. England was probably better provided with roads in the fourth century than it was in the eighteenth. The old roman scheme was rivalled indeed by the perfection of the coach roads, formed in the early days of the present century, throughout the country, and is only at last surpassed by the more recent invention, the railway.

It is certainly a remarkable fact, and one which exhibits in a striking manner the essential barbarity of our pagan saxon forefathers, that while at the period of their arrival in Britain the country was full of architectural works, both secular and religious, of a high degree of refinement; while there were basilicas and villas, emulating those of Italy, erected indeed under the direction of the roman colonists, but by the labour of native artificers, yet so disastrous was their triumph to the civilization of the country, that upon their conversion it became necessary to import from abroad the very rudiments of the architectural art. From the point of view of artistic progress, our country was much in the same condition at the beginning of the sixth century which it had occupied in the first; and methods had then to be adopted by the roman missionaries to re-introduce the arts, similar to those which had

established an architectural element as to be imitated, just as arcades and windows are in gothic architecture, as a mere ornament." ("Lectures on Medieval Architecture," vol. ii., p. 50.)

^y Bede, states incidentally, that churches of stone were not usual among the Britons. "Eccl. Hist.," iii. 4.

^z Bede, "Eccl. Hist.," iv. 19.

^{aa} Bede, "Eccl. Hist.," iv. 18; cf. also ib. ii. 20.

^{bb} Bede, "Eccl. Hist.," ii. 13.

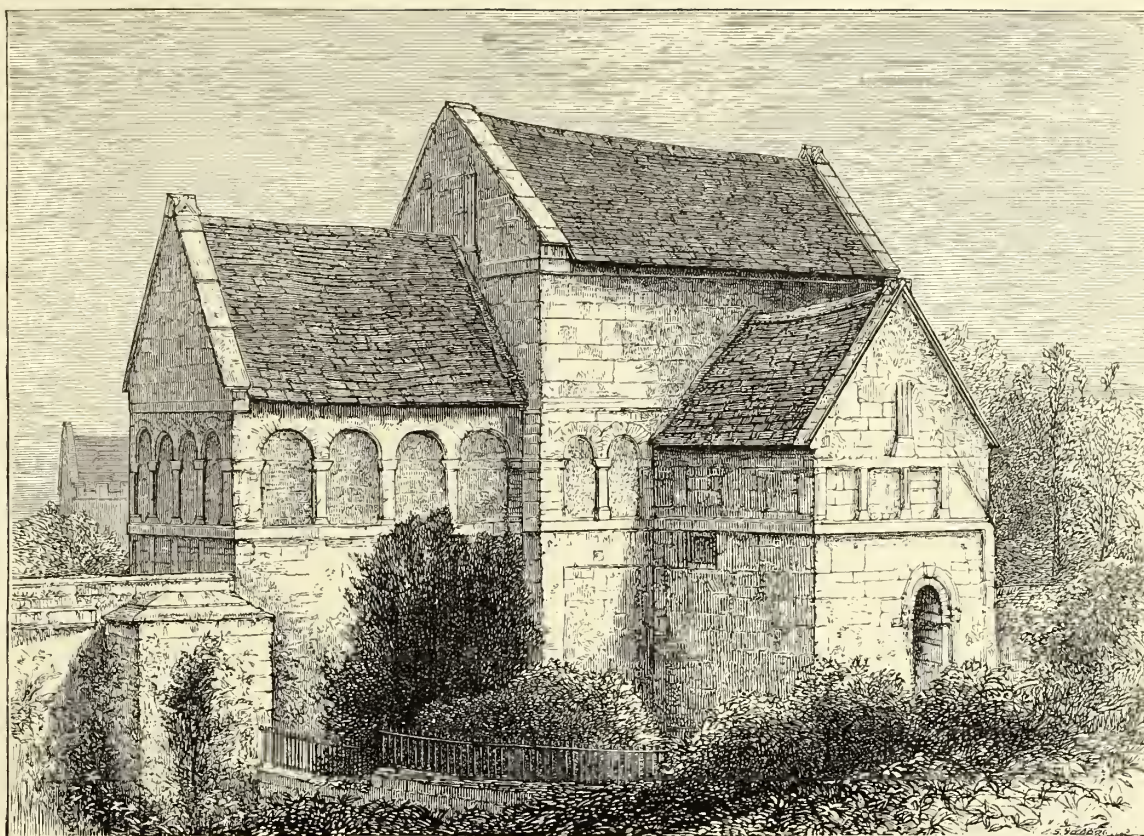
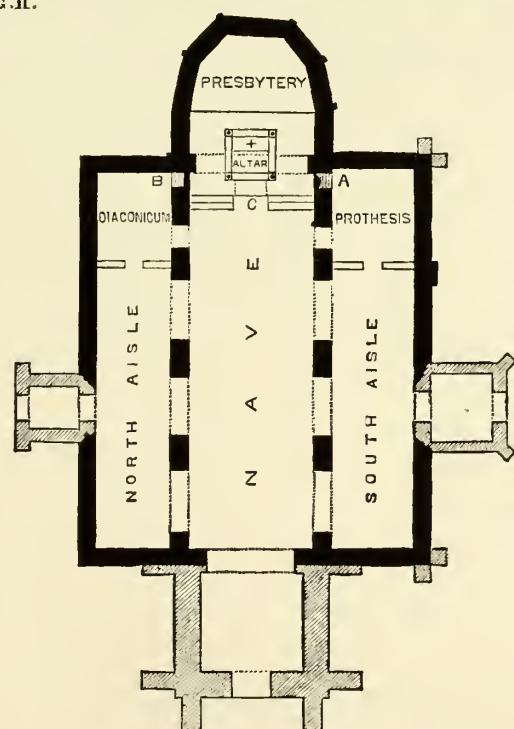
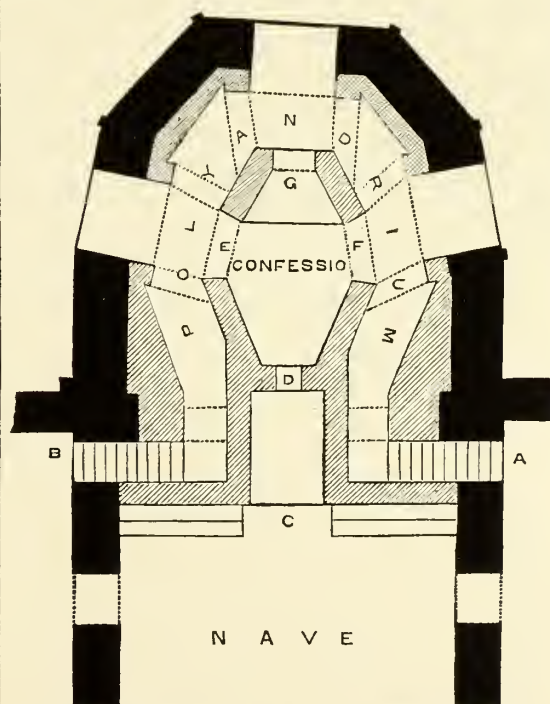


FIG. II.



SCALE OF 10 20 30 40 FEET.

FIG. III.



SCALE OF 10 20 30 40 FEET.

FIG. I. SAXON CHURCH AT BRADFORD-ON-AVON: VIEW FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

FIG. II. PLAN OF THE CHURCH AT WING, IN THE VALE OF AYLESBURY.

FIG. III. PLAN OF THE CONFESSIONARY CRYPT AT WING.

been necessary for their first establishment by the roman colonists of five centuries earlier.^{cc}

In spite, however, of these efforts, the saxons never attained to any real skill in architecture. Their buildings, however interesting in many points of view, are but copies, often so rude as to be well-nigh unintelligible, of contemporary foreign buildings, and with details which exhibit a curious ignorance of the meaning of the features which they caricature. It is fair, however, to recollect that the remains of saxon building which exist to us, are those of small and mostly (though not always) unimportant churches. In point of style, they no doubt agree with the larger and more dignified churches, which are known to us only by description, but we may fairly suppose that the workmanship was somewhat better and the treatment of detail more intelligent in these latter, than in the remains of those smaller buildings, which have alone survived to our time. In the subsidiary arts too, such as embroidery and illumination, our forefathers showed a rare skill and refinement, which contrasts very strangely with the rudeness of their masonry.

The fact however cannot be denied, that during the five centuries which intervened between the conversion of England and its conquest by the Normans, no contribution to the progress of architecture was made by this country.^{dd}

One cannot but contrast this singular inaptitude of the saxon race with the very opposite qualities exhibited by the scandinavian invaders of Neustria. As ruthless as the angles and the saxons, they had during the course of the ninth century devastated the north of France, and destroyed very completely its existing civilization. Yet no sooner did they become christian; no sooner was Normandy settled as a fief of the french crown under Duke Rollo (905-912); no sooner did the inhabitants receive again the elements of that culture which their fathers had destroyed, than a new life is seen to be stirring within it. An ability to deal with architecture, more especially, in a singularly free and intelligent spirit, manifests itself; and little more than a century after the, once savage, northmen had accepted the mild yoke of christian civilization, they had developed a new mode of architectural

composition, which the Confessor adopted in his refounded monastery at Westminster, and the triumph of which was assured, not more by the conquest of a few years later, than by its own essential superiority.

It was natural enough therefore that roman and italian traditions should have reigned supreme here during this long period of 500 years.

These were not however the only elements at work, and this is a very remarkable and interesting fact. Although, as we have said, the saxon period has contributed almost nothing to the advance of the art of architecture, such is far from being the case as regards ecclesiology. Though the style remained much the same rude following of ill-understood italian originals, from St. Augustine to St. Alphege, the type and planning of the churches had, at the later period, become very considerably modified, and new elements had come into play, which were destined to give a character of its own to all our medieval church architecture. With all their rudeness too, there must have been a vein of real tenderness in the saxon race, which their buildings give no expression of, but to which must be attributed that peculiarly sweet and touching strain which is interwoven through all our pointed architecture, and the absence of which in the continental gothic, gives an expression, to english eyes at least, unsympathetic and cold.

The earlier churches of the period show naturally little or no deviation from the roman or italian arrangements. The additions made by Augustine at Christ church, Canterbury, and by Ethelburga at Lyminge, are quite in accordance with the planning of the contemporary churches of the continent; and the resemblance of the arrangements of the sanctuary and confession-crypt at Canterbury, to those of the vatican basilica, asserted by Eadmer, is confirmed by his own description of them.

Of Paulinus' stone church at York enough was discovered beneath the quire of the present minster, during the repairs made necessary by Martin's conflagration, to give a general notion of its plan and its scale. It had, what Canterbury and Lyminge appear to have wanted, transepts. These transepts (about 25 feet wide) agreed in position with the lesser transepts of the existing quire, a point of some interest, as we shall see later on. Its altar appears to have occupied the precise spot "upon which the high altar of the minster always stood, until removed by Mr. Kent about 1736." In the crypt below the altar was, and is still, "a well of semicircular form, full of pure water."^{cc}

The nave was 27 feet wide, with aisles of about 18 feet, and it reached westward as far as the present central tower. The eastern termination, whether of one apse or of three, is obscure. Browne, "from whom I have borrowed the descrip-

^{cc} What the artistic progress lost by the saxon invasion is well illustrated by a sarcophagus, discovered a few years back in the Abbey-yard at Westminster, and now to be seen in the chapter-house there. It is of the roman period, very simple, and probably not later than the third century. It was made use of again in saxon times for a second occupant, and the covering-slab, bearing a rudely cut cross, is of this later date. Anyone who would wish to realise something of that utter collapse of civilization which the saxon triumph caused, may feel it for himself, as he looks at the perfectly refined, though simple, pagan work, with its beautifully cut inscription; and at the grotesque rudeness of the saxon slab which surmounts it.

^{dd} Almost the only exceptions to this statement are, the baluster shaft, and the use of the chevron or zig-zag as an architectural ornament. This latter is best known to us by the works erected after the Conquest, of which it is so characteristic a feature, but from its occurrence in the crypt at Repton, and in other saxon buildings, as well as from its comparative rarity in Normandy, I believe it to have been of saxon and not of norman origin.

^{cc} A similar well has recently been discovered close to the high altar in Beverley minster.

^{ff} History of the Metropolitan church of St. Peter, York. By John Browne. (1838-47.) See the description appended to plate iii.

tion, shows it as square, but his plan is in this respect obviously imperfect, and he pleads guilty to "some supposition." The crypt appears to have extended along the aisles of the nave, but not along the nave itself, in which no doubt was left standing, until the completion of the work, the wooden church in which King Edwin had received the rite of baptism.

The walls are described as of herring-bone masonry of small stones, not unlike the work attributed to St. Ethelburga at Lyminge, and the mode of bonding together the concrete, which is extended over the greater part of the building, and which formed at once the floor of the crypt and the foundation of the walls is very curious. This was done by bedding in the concrete "hewn oaks varying from 9 to 17 in. in breadth, and from 14 to 24 in. in depth," running from end to end of the floor of the crypt to give rigidity to the whole mass.

The church at Wing, near Leighton Buzzard, is a very good example of a church, which must have been erected very shortly after the conversion of England, and is quite basilican in its character. It well illustrates by its severity and by its classical proportions (which are sufficiently obvious in spite of later alterations) the "roman manner" of the early days of saxon christianity. It consisted, in its original form, of a nave with aisles, and a polygonal apse of seven sides. Of this the eastern is larger than the other faces. The angles of the apse are ornamented, externally, by narrow pilasters, united above by semicircular arches. The floor of the apse is elevated upon a confessional crypt, and is ascended to by a flight of steps extending into the nave. The triumphal arch, like those of the basilicas, is almost as wide as the church itself, and is lofty in proportion. The crypt "is of excessive rudeness, being built only of very rough stone, but it is notable for the completeness of its plan (being apsidal, with two ranges of pillars), and as having remains of the two doorways, through which it was approached by steps from either side of the chancel arch."⁸⁸ These doorways have been interfered with by later work, but it is sufficiently clear that, the ascent to the sanctuary must always, as at present, have extended some distance into the nave, and that the altar stood originally in the centre of the apse. To allow space for this stately flight of steps, and possibly also for a *chorus cantorum*, the nave walls appear to have been unpierced by arches for some distance westward of the triumphal arch, though in later times arches have been here inserted. Westward of these, originally, blank spaces, the walls are pierced by three arches on each side opening into the aisles. These are, of course, semicircular, and in one order only, and their only ornamentation is a very simple impost of three square set-offs, which is confined to the reveal of the piers, and does not extend along their lateral faces. The piers are single oblong masses some six feet long by three feet thick.

⁸⁸ See my father's "Lectures on Medieval Architecture," ii. 50. Also *infra* pp. 189, 190.

Above the arches there are indications of a rather lofty clerestory, and the level of the saxon wall-plate is evident enough, in spite of the heightening of the walls, which took place in the fifteenth century.

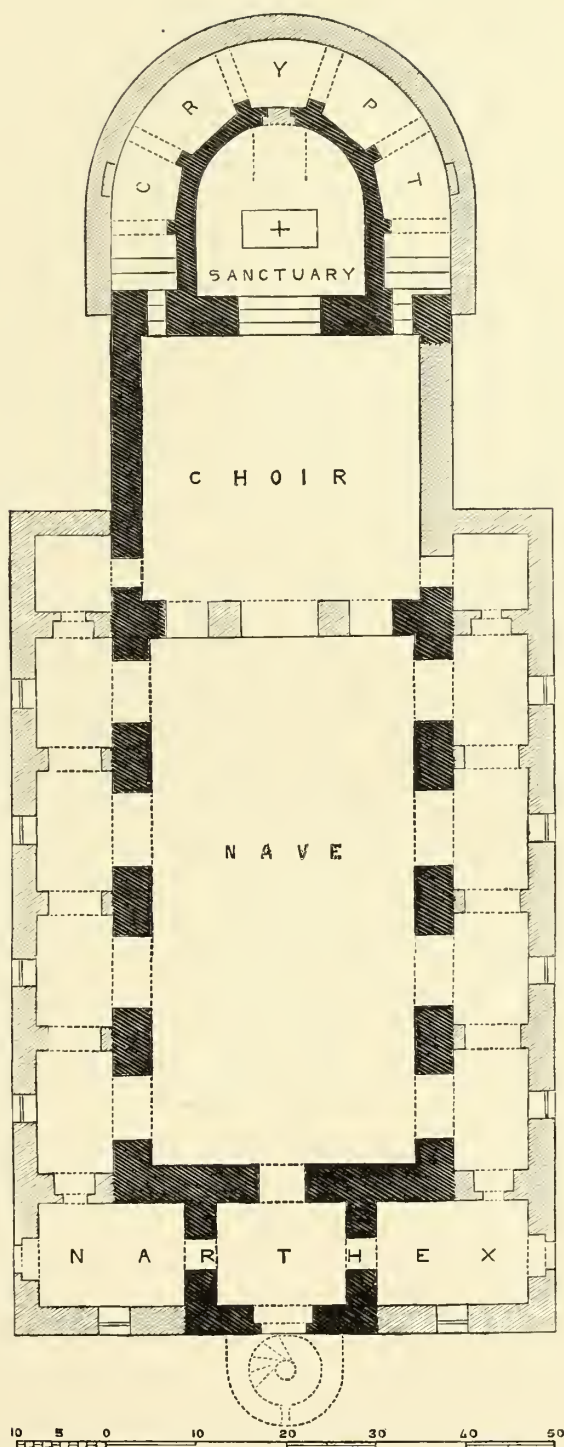
The ancient disposition of the interior is thus sufficiently obvious, and little imagination is needed to picture it in its original condition. The effect thus reached is strikingly basilican and even classical, and the additions of later times, while they have added new beauties, have but little obscured the primitive character of this venerable monument.

The church of Brixworth, near Northampton, is another very early building. As will be seen by the plan which I give, it is less basilican in one respect than the church at Wing, since it possesses, in addition to the apsidal sanctuary, a chancel of equal width with the nave. This may be attributed with probability to the fact that the church was from the first a monastic one, and it is known to have been a dependency of the great abbey of Medhampstead (Peterborough) as early as the year 690. The original disposition of the opening or openings between the chancel and the nave was disturbed, probably in the fourteenth century, but there are indications visible which appear to confirm the statement of the late vicar,¹¹ that the east wall of the nave "had a central arch in the middle, corresponding to the large arch which opens into the eastern apse. Beside this central arch, the bases, of whose piers," he continues, "I developed by excavation some years ago; it had arched openings on either side with clear-story windows corresponding, and opposite, to those at the east end of the chancel," certainly a remarkable and, as far as I know, unique arrangement. The nave, which is sixty feet by thirty, has upon each side of it four arches, in proportion not unlike those at Wing, and constructed in roman brick. Whether these opened into aisles or in a series of "oratories" or side chapels is not clear, but the former is the opinion of the late vicar and is on the whole the more probable. The chambers, of which the foundations were discovered at the eastern and western extremities of the aisles, are remarkable as recalling the disposition of several of the churches of Central Syria.¹¹

The arrangement of the eastern portion of the church is perfectly clear and of great interest. The apse, which is polygonal and slightly elongated on plan, was surrounded by a sunk passage-way or crypt external to it, which is approached by doorways and flights of steps on each side of the sanctuary-arch. From this passage-way there appears clearly to have been, in the eastern face of the apse, a

¹¹ Rev. C. F. Watkins. See his published description of the church, from which, aided by personal observation, my plan is taken. It differs slightly from that given in my father's "Lectures," ii. 39, which the late Mr. Roberts prepared.

¹² See the plans, in the Count de Vogüé's work, of the churches of Soueideh, pl. 19; El-Bazah, pl. 60; Roueiha, pl. 68; Qualb-Louzeh, pl. 122; and Tourmanin, pl. 130.



BRIXWORTH CHURCH, NORTHANTS.
GROUND-PLAN.

doorway opening into a passage running westward, under the elevated floor of the apsidal sanctuary. It is remarkable that this arrangement should so closely accord with the description given us by Eadmer of the crypt at Canterbury, as well as with the plan of that (still extant) of the ancient basilica of the Vatican, upon which, as he states, the Canterbury confessional was modelled. It is also to be noticed that in the plan of St. Gall, the approach to the crypt would appear to have been disposed in a manner somewhat similar to that at Brixworth, by passage-ways external to the wall of the apse itself.

Some have supposed this passage-way to have supported an aisle upon the level of the sanctuary. This, however, was clearly not the case. It was covered by a barrel-vault and a roof of its own, probably of stone; above this roof the apse has at its external angles pilasters such as exist in the apse at Wing and in the chancel at Repton, and there appear to me to be indications that, as in these examples, the pilasters were connected with decorative arches.

The early date of this interesting building is proved not only by the classical character of its proportions, but also by the fact that a tower has been carried up above the original western portico in the style of a later saxon period, and that a triple window (undoubtedly saxon and formed with baluster shafts), which was inserted to give light from the nave to a chamber in this tower, cuts off the head of the original west window of the nave. Later again, but still in Saxon times, a large stair turret was added to this tower. In this church we see the first example of that *tripartite* disposition of plan so frequent in the churches of the norman style. The Brixworth sanctuary is no doubt the equivalent of the transeptal crossing-bay under which, in the plan of St. Gall, is placed the choir of the monks. The elongation of the apse is also a feature in which, on a humbler scale, it agrees with this plan, and also, remarkably enough, with some of the churches of Central Syria.

At Jarrow, on the Tyne, the chancel of the church is of saxon character, and is thought to have formed part of the building erected in 682 by Abbot Benedict Biscop. It appears to have terminated in an apse.

Of the church erected eight years earlier by the same abbot at Monks Wearmouth, the existing building contains some remains, though not enough to determine its original plan and distribution. The very remarkable western porch, in later days converted into a tower, is clearly saxon, but, as I take it, much later than Biscop's time.

The characteristics of all the churches of the roman missionaries or of their more immediate successors, of which we have any evidence, are as follows:

1. The apsidal termination.

2. The confessional crypt. We know of such by description, as at Canterbury; by the existence of the saxon crypt itself, as at Brixworth, at Wing

and at Repton; or from the later crypts, which are the successors of these early *confessiones*, as at York, London (old St. Paul's), Rochester, Winchester, Gloucester, Worcester, Lavingham and Glasgow.

It must be considered that choir-crypts are in all cases of early, rather than of medieval, foundation; that they had their origin in the system of the basilica; and that their retention, enlargement and even reconstruction in later times was due to the sentiment and tradition of earlier days. Intended originally for the repose of the bodies of the martyrs, they ceased to serve this purpose when the system of placing such relics in shrines above the sanctuary-floor came into vogue.

3. The wide chancel arch. This is the successor of the triumphal arch of the basilica, and the importance of this characteristic of those churches, which were built "according to the manner of the Romans," will be seen subsequently.

As time goes on, however, we find churches erected having certain special features, and also a general type, very different from these. These elements are distinctly not basilican in their origin: they become more marked and more widely distributed as the fusion of the saxon and british races and churches progresses, and to their influence is due much of that peculiar character by which our own medieval churches are differentiated from those of the rest of western christendom.

The special characteristics of this non-basilican type of church are these:

1. The square east end, as in the church on the castle hill at Dover, at Bradford in Wilts,^{jj} and at Repton. If we remember how universal was the prevalence of the apsidal type from the Conquest onwards for many a long year, this appearance of the square end at a much earlier date is very significant.

2. Transepts lower than and subordinate to the nave, as at Dover, and at Worth in Sussex. This treatment of the transepts is wholly foreign to that of the basilica: it lasted on all through the middle ages in England, and, as far as we know, in England alone. Almost all our larger parish churches illustrate this peculiarity.

3. Taking in part its origin from this innovation, which rendered it possible, we find the central tower [an arrangement entirely impossible on the basilican plan], as at Dover, at Stow, and Wootton Waven.

4. The single western tower. This, so characteristic a feature of our village churches, is quite foreign to the "roman manner," while it is quite common in the later saxon. We find it in the description of Ramsey Abbey in the time of St. Dunstan, in existence at Holy Trinity Church, Colchester, at Barnack, at Earls Barton, and in instances which will readily occur to every student: indeed there is probably no feature of the style so well known as this.

^{jj} Of this church I give a view taken from the north-east: a plan of it will be found, together with elevational drawings, in my father's "Lectures," ii. 46.

5. The last peculiarity is a very significant one, and one in marked contrast with the basilican tradition—I mean the extreme narrowness of the sanctuary arch observable in so many of the later saxon churches. These arches are in many cases, as at Bradford in Wilts, and at Wootton Wawen, little more than doorways.

It is noticeable that in those saxon churches in which we find the apse, we generally find, as at Wing, a wide chancel arch, the successor clearly of the triumphal arch of the basilica. Where, however, the square east end is found, there we find, as a rule, the chancel arch to be of the smallest possible dimensions. This tradition of a small doorway-like chancel arch continued, through the norman period, on into the thirteenth century. Numbers of these were removed in the fifteenth century and many have been destroyed in our own day. There were frequently altars placed on either side of the arch, the evidence of which is often afforded by the piscina remaining in the south-east corner of the nave, where the early arch itself has given place to a wide one of later date, allowing no space for an altar. In some instances window-like openings have been formed at a later period above the side altars on either side of the narrow early arch. The fact, so common in our old churches, of the chancel arch being of later date than any of the work about it, is due to a conservative sentiment which prevailed during the middle ages as regards certain particular features. Fonts and doorways shared this feeling with chancel-arches; and it is owing to it that many of these narrow early arches were preserved, when perhaps the whole of the rest of the building had been piece by piece renewed, to be swept away by the last great wave of medieval innovation which immediately preceded the Reformation.

It is clear then that there was an influence at work, in the ecclesiastical development of the saxon period, other than that which is distinctly italian and roman.

I have myself little doubt that this was derived from the traditions of the british church, and it is certainly an interesting fact that our medieval architecture appears to have drawn much of its special and peculiar character from so remote and venerable a source.

We know nothing directly of the churches erected by the labour, not of roman, but of british believers, but we can arrive at certain conclusions concerning them from the evidence afforded, first by the early irish churches, and secondly by those peculiarities of saxon ecclesiology of which Rome and Italy afford no explanation.

We must never forget that christianity was introduced into these isles in the first ages; that for more than two centuries previous to the peace of the Church it flourished here; that it had become the religion of the nation long before it was officially adopted by the roman administration; and that the british church had, as is clear from the correspondence between Augustine and Pope Gregory, a liturgy differing from that of Rome, but analogous

to the primitive rite of Gaul. This rite, termed by some Ephesine, by others Hispano-Gallican,^{kk} presents unmistakeable indications of a connection with the East. It gave place during the eighth and ninth centuries to that of Rome, both in Gaul and in England, but it has left its traces to this day in the ceremonial of the french churches, while the Sarum and the allied rites, no less than those of the anglo-saxon church, are full of such elements.

It would be out of place to dwell here upon these traces of an independent christian tradition, which thus survived, in a remarkable manner, the abandonment of the rite itself, and the substitution of the liturgy of the roman church; but it is impossible not to be struck with the parallel which holds between the history of the british ritual and that of the british ecclesiastical traditions. Both were overborne by the centralizing influence which radiated from, and drew all hearts toward, Rome, yet both alike were too deeply rooted to be effaced, and both alike continued to influence and to modify that master impulse to which they had each to succumb. Neither our medieval rituals, nor our medieval church architecture, would have been what they were, but for this strand of a wholly independent make, which is interwoven through and through into the very body of the fabric, originally fashioned in a different loom.

The ancient british rite was gradually abandoned for the roman in the course of the centuries which immediately followed the conversion of the Saxons to christianity. The old gallican liturgy was so completely suppressed early in the ninth century, under the influence of Charles the Great, that when, only fifty years later, Charles the Bald wished to have mass sung before him, according to the ancient rite of Gaul, he had to summon priests from Toledo to celebrate it, because there, as still to this day, the Mozarabic, a virtually identical liturgy, was still in use.^l In spite, however, of this complete extinction of the rite, both here, as in France, it left its traces in the customs of the local churches: traces which in France are still sufficiently obvious, and were so among ourselves until Protestantism effaced alike the supplanter and the supplanted.^{mm}

^{kk} As by Mr. C. E. Hammond in his "Ancient Liturgies," lxii. See too Palmer, "Origines Liturgice."

^l Hammond's "Ancient Liturgies," lxiii.

^{mm} The question of the proper observance of Easter, which plays so conspicuous a part in the discussions between the Roman and Saxon divines and those of the British church, was in reality a question rather of science than of theology. The Council of Nice had determined the Catholic rule upon the subject (Eusebius: "Life of Constantine III." 14), but Pope Hilarius (463) had made a correction of the Calendar, introducing the improved cycle of nineteen years, in place of the ancient but incorrect cycle of eighty-four years. The disturbed state of the British church during the fifth century had prevented its rulers becoming acquainted with this alteration, and national prejudice alone delayed so long the acceptance of this purely scientific correction. A very similar stupidity prevented the adoption by England of the new style, inaugurated, again at Rome, under Gregory XIII., in 1582, for a hundred and seventy years till 1752. It is curious that the same country should twice, under such different conditions, have exhibited the same perverse prejudice.

The same was the case with the architectural traditions of british christianity. For some time after the mission of St. Augustine not a trace of any other influence than that of Rome and Italy is to be observed in the architecture of our newly-converted forefathers. Gradually, however, as the two churches, of the conquerors and the conquered, became fused and welded into one, new elements, wholly foreign to the basilican traditions, are seen to be at work, which gradually, as time goes on, give a new and special character to the church architecture of saxon England, and which are destined to affect, in a conspicuous manner, the future of english art throughout the middle ages.

Of these, the square east-end is of course the most striking and the most unmistakeable. It stands in conspicuous contrast with the most characteristic feature of the basilican type, and looking at its universal prevalence in Ireland, one cannot doubt its derivation from the traditions of the early british church.

Next to the apse there is no feature of the basilica so marked as the great triumphal arch. Nothing can well be more opposed in its whole conception to this spacious ample arch of triumph than the small narrow chancel arches of so many of the later saxon churches, a plan which was followed, as I have already remarked, for many ages after the norman conquest.ⁿⁿ This peculiarity is not indeed found in the early churches of Ireland, where the "triumphal arch" is commonly of the basilican type, but there is evidence, nevertheless, of the prevalence in the sister isle of the same feeling of which the narrow saxon chancel arch is the expression here.

Cogitosus, in his life of St. Bridget, written about the year 800, gives a description of the church of Kildare as it existed in his day, from which it appears that the sanctuary was cut off from the body of the church by a wall pierced by two doorways. This wall, he states, was decorated by paintings and furnished with veils.^{oo}

In this irish arrangement, and in the peculiarity of the later saxon churches, which is its ritual equivalent, we seem to see an eastern influence: the same in fact which has led to the developement of the solid screen or iconostasis, which in a greek church completely conceals the whole rite from the view of the faithful. To the same origin we must refer the feeling which prevailed in England all through the middle ages, and which led to the erection of

those high chancel screens, surmounted by imagery and paintings, by which the chancel arch was often completely filled up. The tendency which is shown in all this, and which is quite characteristic of english medievalism, is so entirely opposite to that of which the basilica is the expression, that it is impossible to suppose that the one is derived from the other. We cannot avoid the conclusion, that the two represent two separate and independent traditions, whose distinction is coeval with the very foundation of the christian church. In striking contrast with the outcome of this british and later saxon tradition, in the elaborate rood-screens and lofts of our english churches, stands the more modern continental arrangement, according to which no screen or veil of any kind intervenes, and where everything is performed almost as on a stage, in full view of the congregation. In this we see the opposite principle—that of the basilica—carried out perhaps to an exaggeration.

It is probable that these narrow arches of the saxon churches were closed at the time of the consecration by a curtain, and that they thus answered a purpose analogous to that which, as we have explained, the baldachino was designed to serve.^{pp}

The remains of the saxon period may be classified roughly in three groups: those that preceded the first danish incursions; those erected from this date on to the time of the invasion of Sweyn; and lastly, the works erected under Canute and his successors up to the norman conquest.

Of the first class I have already given examples.

Of the second group, the church in the castle at Dover, the towers of Earls Barton, of Barnack, of Holy Trinity, Colchester, of Wootton Wawen, and of Sompting are good examples. To the same period probably belongs the crypt at Repton, the very interesting church at Worth, in Sussex, and the western portions of the church of Barton-on-Humber. These last consist of a complete tower having small north and south doorways. Its east and west sides are pierced by narrow arches, the former, which is the larger of the two, opening into the nave, the latter into a chamber of some size and of tall proportions, gabled east and west. This does not appear to have been a porch, as sometimes described, as it has no external doorway, and can be entered only from the tower. It has a small window on each side, and in its western front are two small circular openings. The whole arrangement is very singular, and I am at a loss to conjecture its purpose.

It was during this second period that the so-called roman manner is seen to become transfused by traditions derived, as I conceive, from the british church.

^{pp} It must be always remembered that the chancel arches in our parish churches were, as a rule, sanctuary-arches. All within them was sanctuary, not choir and sanctuary. There were no stalls or chancel-seats in most of our chancels; in no case, in fact, in which there was not a college of priests or a religious community using the parish church as their own chapel.

ⁿⁿ St. Edmund's Church at Hauxton, near Cambridge, retains the narrow chancel arch of Norman character, which was flanked by side-altars standing under arched recesses, the work of Bishop Northwold (1229). Under the southern of these arches are the remains of a distemper wall-painting representing St. Thomas of Canterbury, which formed the reredos of this altar.

^{oo} In this church, he says, "*unus paries decoratus, et imaginibus depictus, ac linteaminibus tectus, per latitudinem in orientali ecclesie parte, a pariete ad alterum parietem ecclesie se tetendit: qui in suis extremitatibus duo habet ostia.*" See Petrie's "*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*," p. 194.

The last period of the style is that which succeeded the invasion of Sweyn in 1011. Symptoms now begin to appear preludeing that great artistic revolution which the norman conquest was destined to effect. The Confessor's church at Westminster exhibited in its earliest form that "new mode of composition" which was so soon to put an end to the old saxon style.

Many of the churches ruined by Sweyn were rebuilt during the half-century which then elapsed before the conquest of the country by the Normans.⁹¹ To this date we may refer the tower of St. Benet's church in Cambridge, and a great number of towers of similar type all over the country. That the saxon style was quite distinct from that which the Normans brought with them, is proved in an interesting manner by the history of the towers of St. Mary's and St. Peter's at Lincoln. These are of very similar character to that of St. Benet's at Cambridge. They stand on the flat ground at the bottom of the great hill, on which the Cathedral is built. When the Normans took possession of the city, they expelled the saxon inhabitants, who were forced to erect for themselves a new quarter on the level meadows near the river. These churches therefore were built by the Anglo-Saxons, though subsequently to the norman conquest, and it is very interesting to find them presenting a style of their own—that which we know to be the saxon style—and one quite different from that in which the Normans were, at the same time, erecting, according to their own taste, the castle and the cathedral upon the hill above.

At this point we may conveniently pause. Our survey has now brought us to the eve of the great change with which the modern history of architecture, in this country, commences.

I have dwelt with greater detail upon the architecture of our anglo-saxon forefathers than is usually given to it in art-histories, and this for two reasons.

In the first place the period is one very little known. Many persons who can tell you accurately enough the style of any gothic building, are exceedingly hazy when the distinction has to be drawn between norman and saxon works. Others are under the impression that England had no art-history until the Conquest, and that there are no buildings remaining to us of any style earlier than the norman. Others again believe that the Saxons built only in timber, and, perhaps, wattle, and that the Danes burnt up everything of that sort. These false impressions I have endeavoured to remove, and if the survey of this somewhat dull period has

appeared at times tedious, the object which I have had in view must serve as my apology.

In the second place what I have desired beyond everything else to enforce, is the fact that we English have a continuous church history of our own, the material monuments of which form a real unbroken series. Largely as we are indebted, as regards church architecture and ecclesiology, to the roman missionaries and to the norman architects, we did not derive from them our earliest or our most persistent traditions.

We have seen that in the earliest ages of the faith there existed in Britain a simple type of church building, distinct from that of Rome or of Constantinople. We have seen how this type survived the overthrow of british christianity by the teutonic pagans; how, when the Saxons had become christians, it re-appeared, competing for the pre-eminence with the latin basilica of the roman missionaries, and gaining, in the long run, the victory. We shall see this type maintaining itself against the foreign fashions imported by the norman invaders, and again victorious; and as the result of its triumph, imparting to our english churches, throughout the whole of the middle ages, a character which is distinct from that of all the rest of christendom.

If we consider, for a moment, what it is that goes to make an english village church so entirely different from those of any continental country, we shall find that, apart from architectural style, the following are among the important points of contrast:—

The single tower placed in the centre of the west front.

The principal entrance by a south porch, instead of by a great western portal.

High chancel screens, surmounted by lofts, closing up, more or less, the chancel arch, and breaking up the vista, and also similar screens enclosing every chantry-altar: the principle, in fact, of withdrawing the altars into a certain amount of retirement, instead of bringing them forward into strong prominence.

Transepts lower than the nave, not forming a bay of intersection—a crossing bay—but simply opening into the nave, which is continued independently of them. This is a peculiarly english arrangement, common here, but almost unknown elsewhere.

Lastly, and most important of all, the square-ended chancel.

Now, all these points of peculiarity, either directly or in their germs, we find, as we have endeavoured to show, in the later saxon churches, and as we find some of them also in the ancient churches of Ireland, we are driven to refer them, in part at least, to a common origin in the traditions of the primitive british church.

It is not for architectural style that we are in any way indebted to these early times. The interest of the question is not artistic, but ecclē-

⁹¹ His son Knut was as zealous in the re-building of the churches as his father in their destruction. He assisted at the coronation of the Emperor Conrad II. at Rome in 1024. Wippo, quoted by Mr. Bryce, in his "Holy Roman Empire," c. xii., page 186, says, "His ita peractis, in duorum regum presentia, Ruodolfi regis Burgundiæ et Chnutonis regis Anglorum, divino officio finito, Imperator duorum regum medius ad cubiculum suum honorifice ductus est." According to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle he visited Rome again in 1031.

siological. What we English inherit from the early churches of this island is, not any special manner of building, but an ecclesiastical type. This type may be said to have imbued the very soil of our country, for it has lasted on, though Saxon has overthrown Briton, Dane overborne Saxon, and Norman conquered both.

Like Rome and Byzantium, England, too, has its own ecclesiastical traditions; its own antiquity; its own type of church-building, distinct from theirs, though witnessing to one and the same faith; monuments of art whose merits are all her own; and—as in state so in church—a history not inglorious.

DISCURSUS

ON EARLY CHURCHES IN EASTERN AND WESTERN CHRISTENDOM.

IT will, I think, be convenient to give here an account of a certain number of early churches, which may serve to illustrate the progress of church architecture, from the first ages of our religion down to the time of the mission of St. Augustine. The reader will thus be the better able to appreciate that stage in the ecclesiological advance, which had been reached generally throughout Christendom, at the period at which the history of english church architecture properly commences. Without such a survey it is impossible rightly to understand the subsequent progress of the religious art in our own country.

One of the earliest monuments of christian antiquity which now exist, is the group of two rock-cut churches near Surp Garabed, in Cappadocia, figured in Texier and Pullan's "*Byzantine Architecture*," p. 39. These were evidently excavated at a time when the christians were subject to the persecution of the authorities, *i.e.*, previous to the reign of Constantine. They exhibit the basilican type in its most elementary form. Each is a simple aisle-less parallelogram, with an apsidal termination, and each has a stone altar hewn in the body of the living rock. The outer church is lighted by one small window, and has a lateral narthex. The inner church is so dark that it must have been impossible to officiate within it without artificial light.^a

These churches are interesting as specimens of the basilican plan in its very rudiments. There are here no aisles, from which, as we have seen, the name basilica is probably derived. There is here no resemblance whatever to the pagan basilica, of which the surrounding arcades are the essential feature. They exhibit in short, though on a diminutive scale, that aisle-less type of church, which, as I have endeavoured in a previous discursus to show, is the groundwork of the vision of the Apocalypse.

Turning southward, we find exemplified in the singular convent church of Der el Adra, on the banks of the Nile, of which a plan is given by Curzon in his "*Monasteries in the Levant*" p. 100, a further advance, and yet one which exhibits almost no analogy with the pagan basilicas. It is attributed to St. Helena or, as the present occupants describe her, "a rich lady of the name of Halané, who was the daughter of a certain Kostandi, king of Roum."

^a Curzon describes (in his "*Monasteries in the Levant*," pp. 121, 122) an ancient subterranean tomb near Thebes, in Egypt, which has apparently been adapted to the purposes of christian worship, during the early persecutions, and which is thus an instance parallel to those afforded by the catacombs of Syracuse and Rome, and by the churches of Surp Garabed. This tomb is a magnificent hall, divided into three aisles by square columns; "its walls retain the brilliant white, which is so much to be admired in the tombs of the kings and other stately sepulchres. On the walls are various hieroglyphics, and on the square piers, tall figures of the gods of the infernal regions—Kneph, Khonso, and Osiris, are portrayed in brilliant colours, with their immense caps or crowns, and with the heads of the jackal and other beasts." The christian occupation of this subterranean hall is indicated "by a stone altar, standing upon one or two steps, in an apsis or semicircular recess."

FIG. I.

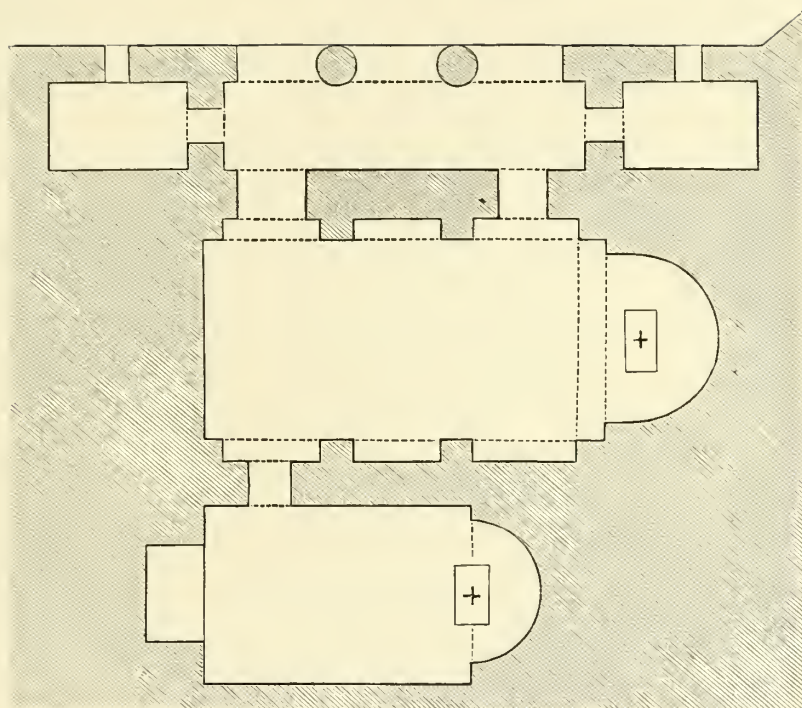


FIG. II.

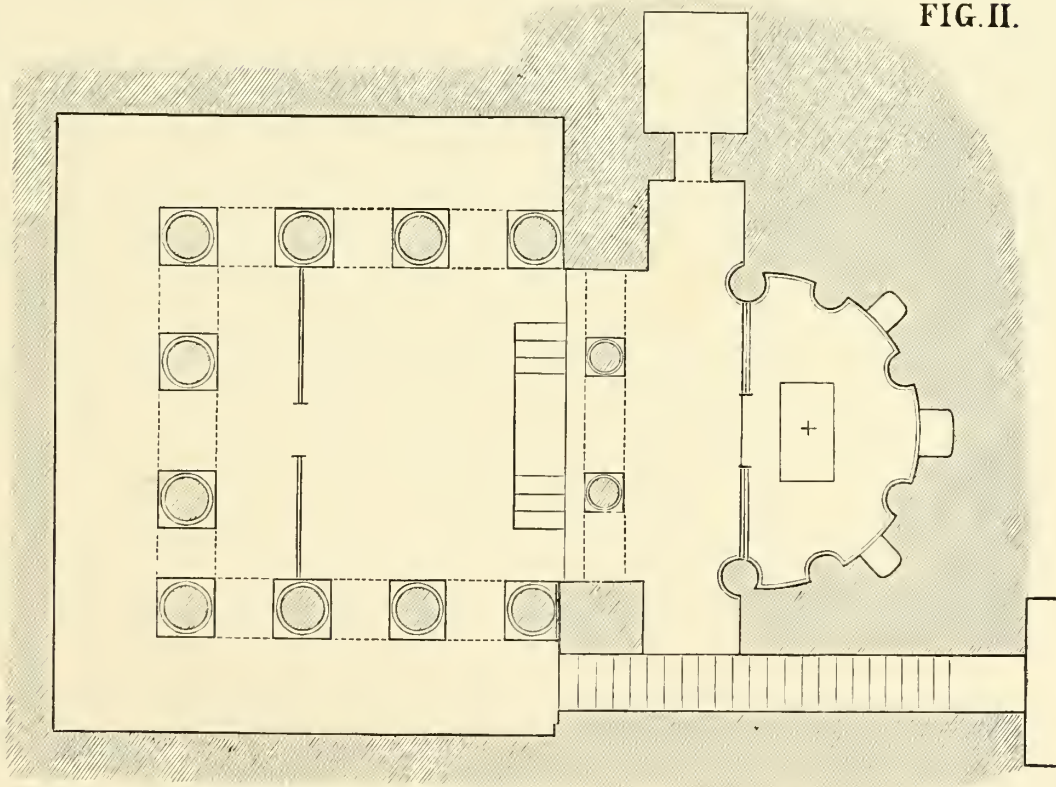


FIG. I. PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF SURP-GARABED, IN CAPPADOCIA.

FIG. II. PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF DER-EL-ADRA, UPON THE NILE.

This church is also, in part, subterranean, being built in the recesses of an ancient stone quarry. The roof is formed of beams of palm-tree wood, on which a terrace of reeds and earth is laid. Its height is about twenty-five feet. It is approached by a long descent of steps opening upon the end of one of the aisles. The aisle is continued across the end opposite to the apse, as in the cathedral of Messina, and the church of St. Agnes, without the walls, at Rome. The apse is of regular antique architecture, ornamented by six pilasters and three recessed niches. Here, as at Surp Garabed (although there are aisles), there appears to be no suggestion of any reference to the pagan basilican type.

Indeed, by the writers of the eastern church the term *basilica* is never used,^b which is the more remarkable when we remember that the word itself is greek. Churches of what we term the basilican plan are common throughout the east : indeed by far the greater number of those erected by Constantine at Constantinople are of this plan, as we know those, which he erected at Jerusalem, and at Tyre, to have been. Yet this plan is never described by the byzantine authors as basilican, but as resembling a stadium (*δρομικὴ σχήματι*), which is defined as "an oblong area, terminated, at one end by a straight line, at the other by a semicircle having the breadth of the stadium for its base." Thus the stadium was, on plan, exactly analogous to the earliest form of the christian church, such as we see it at Surp Garabed, and elsewhere.

If therefore the use of the term *basilica*, in the west, is to be allowed to create any presumption that the christian churches were founded on the pagan basilica, as good an argument for the derivation of their plan from the pagan race-course may be drawn from this constant reference to the *δρομικὸν σχῆμα*, on the part of the eastern writers. The one inference is worth as much, or as little, as the other.

The next church which I will mention is that of Dana, near the Euphrates, illustrated in Texier and Pullan's valuable work (p. 173). It is a very good example of the simplest form of an aisled basilica. It presents the peculiarity of a triumphal arch of the horse-shoe form. "The invention of this form of arch is often attributed," say our authors, "to the mussulmans, but this example proves its prior existence." They also mention a church in Armenia, of the seventh century, in which the same form of arch occurs. The church at Dana bears an inscription which fixes its date as 540 A.D., being the thirteenth year of the reign of Justinian.

At Thessalonica is a magnificent church of the fifth century, exhibiting the basilican plan in its purest form. Its dedication is wholly lost, and it is known only as the ancient mosque, Eski Djouma.^c It consists of a nave 120 feet long, with side aisles, an apse, and a small narthex. Its altar lies toward the west. Above the aisles is a second range of columns and arches, opening into a gallery for the women, as at St. Agnes without the walls of Rome. There are no lateral apses, but there is a niche at the western extremity of the southern aisle which appears to have served as the table of prothesis or, as we now term it, the credence table. The interior has been decorated throughout in mosaic.^d

Let us turn now from Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Levant, to the monuments of an early age

^b Texier and Pullan, "Byzantine Architecture," p. 128.

^c Ibid., p. 145.

^d The word 'credence,' (from the italian *credenza*, *credentiaria*), indicates a side table, or *buffet*, upon which the articles of plate required at a banquet were arranged, and at which proof was made, by a confidential servant, of the meats to be served at the high table. "*Credientiam appellant mensam supra quam vasa argentea, sive aurea, ad convivium opportuna præparantur: et similiter, in divinis, supra quam ad sacrificandum necessaria continentur. Dicitur et Credentia actus ipse pre-gustationis cibarium, et aliarum rerum.*" (Cereemoniale Romanum 1: i., sect: 3 in Ducange *sub voce*.) This table of prothesis, in the sanctuaries of the orthodox

of christianity, which are to be found in Central Syria, for the investigation of which we are indebted to the labours of the Count de Vogüé.

Here we shall find the same principles of ecclesiology ruling the distribution of these churches, all of them erected before the year 565. At the same time the architectural forms have a character unique and admirable. They show a freedom and an originality of treatment, quite amazing at so early a date, which anticipates by some six centuries the progress of western art. These monuments afford a striking illustration of what christianity could do for art, where the traditions of classical antiquity were strong enough to inspire, but not so strong as to trammel, its new and vigorous life.

At Chaqqa in the middle region of the province, a little to the south-east of Damascus, are remains of a secular basilica. I give a plan of it, in order to exhibit, by the contrast of its arrangements with those of the simplest church of the district—that of Babouda, between Damascus and Aleppo—how unreasonable is the notion that, because the same name is applied by western writers to both, the form of the christian basilica is in any way derived from that of the pagan. A glance at the two plans will show how little the one is indebted to the other. There is indeed absolutely nothing in common, and but for that tyranny, which words have ever exercised over thought, the notion of a connexion between types so dissimilar, both in themselves and in their whole intention, could never have arisen.

The basilica of Chaqqa appears to be of the third century, the church at Babouda is probably of the fourth. It exhibits the simplest form of the christian church, exactly similar to the rock-cut churches in Cappadocia, and in principle identical with the early churches of Ireland, to which I shall shortly have to refer.

Of the next stage in the progress of the ecclesiological developement—a stage which had not apparently been arrived at when the Apocalypse was written—that of the single-aisled basilica, there are several examples, all in the northern portion of the district. The churches of Kherbet-Hass, Deir-Séta, Baqouza, and of Tourmanin, are of this type: indeed throughout the northern district the so-called basilican type is universal. All these churches have square sacristies, or chapels,^e at the eastern extremity of their aisles, instead of the subordinate apses by which the aisles are terminated in the later western basilicas. I have selected the church at Tourmanin for illustration, and the view which I give from the Count de Vogüé's work^f

communion resembles, exactly, one of the small side-altars of a catholic church, and is similarly adorned by two lighted tapers. In the west this character of a quasi-altar is retained by the custom of placing upon the credence (as in the oriental churches), two lights. In the old english coronation-rite the altar at the head of the shrine of St. Edward (in Westminster Abbey), served as a table of prothesis, both for the eucharistic elements and for the regalia, and since the Reformation, the massive oak table, which now occupies the site of the altar of the Confessor, has been employed—as, for example, at the coronation of the reigning sovereign—for the same purpose. This table is, to the present day, in all the authorised copies of the coronation-office spoken of as “the altar there”—*i.e.*, “in King Edward's Chapel.” (Cf. Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, iii. 127, 138.) I may remark, in passing, that the Holy Table (of Westminster Abbey) is also, in this office invariably termed “the altar.” Thus two “altars” are, to this day, required for the due coronation of our sovereigns. To object to the use of this word argues therefore a sort of disloyalty, and is, in fact, a reflection upon the british constitution.

^e These sacristies were termed, says Dr. Rock (“*Hierurgia*,” p. 200), *Pastophoreia*. The pagan priests, who in processions carried the images of the gods, were known as *παστοφόροι*. Mention is made of these chambers in the description of the basilica of St. Felix, at Nola, which will be found in a later discursus.

^f “*Syrie centrale. Architecture civile et religieuse du premier au septième siècle par de Comte de Vogüé. Paris: T. Baudry, Libraire-éditeur.*” M. de Vogüé was accompanied on his tour by M. W. H. Waddington, distinguished like himself, equally as an antiquary and as a statesman, and one in whom France and Cambridge have a common interest.

FIG. I.

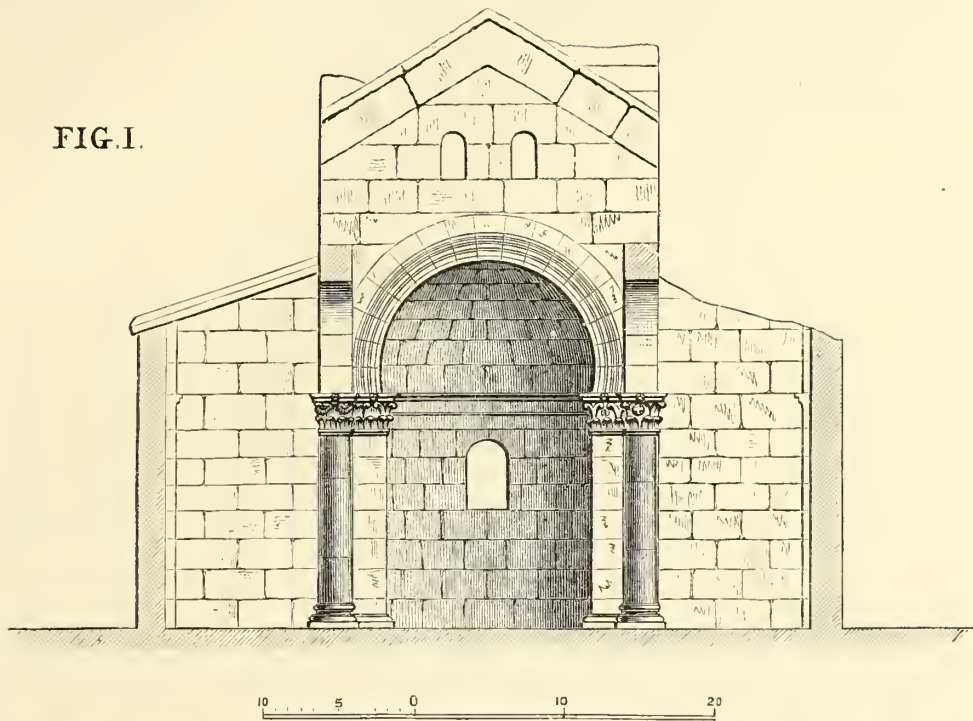
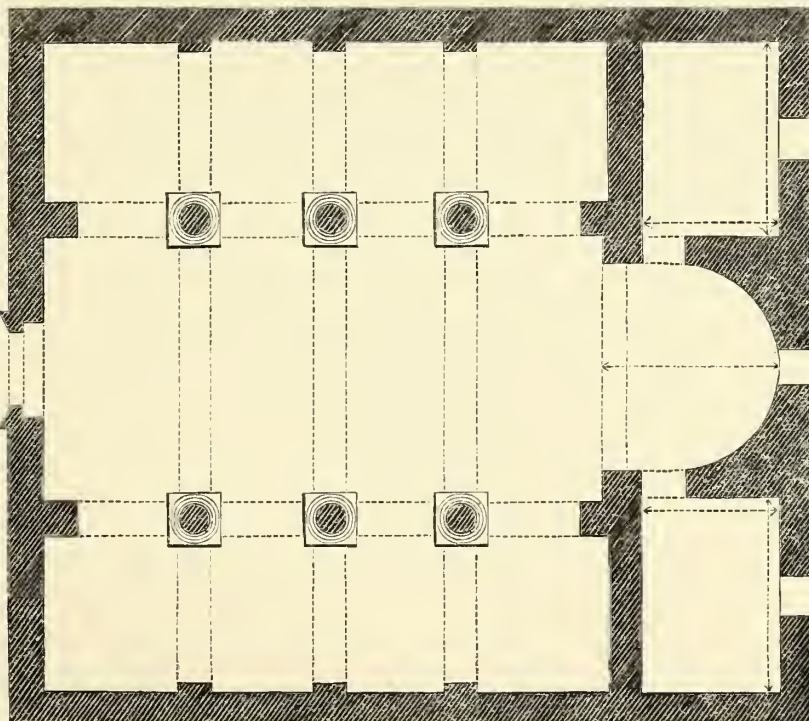


FIG. II.



BASILICA OF DANA ON THE EUPHRATES, A.D. 540.

FIG. I. CROSS-SECTION. FIG. II. GROUND-PLAN.

shows the external treatment of these sacristies in conjunction with the apse. Tourmanin is situate near Aleppo.

Somewhat further south, at Moudjeleia, is a beautiful little church, which I give an illustration of, rather as an example of an unusual and original plan, and as an instance of the freedom of treatment characteristic of the architecture of this interesting country, than as having any direct bearing upon our more immediate subject. Its half-octagon nave might afford a hint to modern church-builders. Its nave appears to have been hypæthral, and its conception has thus something in common with the great church of St. Simon Stylites, which I shall have to refer to presently.

As an example of the double-aisled basilica, the church of Soueideh, of the fourth or fifth century, in the southern portion of the province, may be mentioned. It is interesting as exhibiting a sanctuary of two bays, interposed between the apse and the nave. This is a developement of the primitive plan very remarkable at so early a date, conforming as it does to the type of our western churches of several centuries later.* The inner aisles terminate in long and narrow apsidal chapels. The aisles are roofed by slabs of stone, the nave has had a wooden roof.

Apses similarly elongated are found also in the churches of Rouciha, and of Qalb-Louzé, both of the sixth century, and both situate in the northern district,—to the west and south-west of Aleppo. The nave of the latter church is wholly unlike that of a basilica, being separated from its aisles by three wide arches of low proportion, carried, not by pillars, but by piers, which are in fact portions of the wall. Its apse, externally, bears a remarkable resemblance to those of many churches of central France of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is very similar to that of the great church at Kalat Sem'an, in the extreme north of the province.

Two churches of the northern region exhibit a peculiarity which it is indeed striking to find far away in central Syria. They have square-ended sanctuaries. One is the church at Hass, one of the most beautiful in the whole country. The other is at Behioh. In both the sanctuary is shallow: both are single-aisled; and each has the square sacristies, at the end of the aisle, so characteristic of the syrian churches.

The great glory of the whole district is the magnificent church at Kalat Sem'an, erected around the pillar on which Simon Stylites lived out his self-inflicted and bizarre penance.

In its centre stood the column of the christian fakeer: around it is extended an immense

* For example, the eastern limb of St. Alban's Abbey, built by Abbot Paul, the relative and friend of Archbishop Lanfranc (between the years 1077 and 1088) is, scale apart, precisely similar on plan to that of this church of Soueideh (to the south-east of Damascus), erected seven centuries earlier. This is a very striking instance of the futility of that *doctrinaire* teaching which represents human history as a uniform progress. Such views, proper enough to clever schoolboys, do not become grown men. They should be left to what is, intellectually as morally, *lasciva decentius ætas*. As we study these syrian ruins, we realise that seven centuries hardly sufficed to make good the loss which human progress sustained at the hands of the eastern moslems and the western teutons. While examining any museum of romano-british antiquities, one cannot but feel that the whole period which is comprised in, what are called, the dark ages, and the medieval ages, together with all the years that have intervened between the termination of these and our own time, have scarcely sufficed to bring up the level of material human culture to the point which it had reached 1500 years ago. The same may be observed in the sphere of politics. But for the Reformation, and the earlier reactionary movements of which it was the outcome what is termed "international arbitration" would have, before now, put an end to the scandal of war among christian nations, by the realisation of the solidarity of christendom under one universally acknowledged spiritual head. Many centuries will now, as far as we can see, elapse before the progress of our race has recovered the ground lost by this unfortunate reaction. There are in human affairs but "two swords" (Luke xxi. 38), and the only practicable arbitrator in a conflict of the one, is he who is recognised as the wielder of the other. Humanity has ever paid for its reactions a very heavy price.

octagon, exposed of course to the sky, into which open the four arms of the church. Each of these arms forms a fine nave, separated from its aisles by arches of the basilican type, supporting a clerestory. The manner in which the aisles of the four arms abut upon the central octagon is exceedingly ingenious. The plan has the advantage, which Sir Christopher Wren has secured at St. Paul's, of prolonging the vista of each aisle across the central octagon, with the further merit, which St. Paul's does not possess, of continuing the aisle round the octagon. The eastern limb is longer than the rest, and terminates in three apses pierced by two tiers of windows. There are two porches on each side of each of the arms, except in one part, where a continuous arcade is substituted. The triple portals at the extremities of the nave and transepts have pediments over them, and are of great magnificence. This noble church is of such an extraordinary character, and stands so completely by itself, both in design and in the strange purpose of its erection, that, although it lies far out of the main course of our inquiry, I need, I think, make no apology for calling attention to so singular and splendid a monument.

It was erected between the year 459, in which the saint died, and the year 560, in which it was visited by Evagrius, who has left a description of it which is still extant.^h

It may be compared, as I would remark in passing, with the church at Naplouse, the ancient Sichem, described by Arculphus (who has given a rough plan of it) in the seventh century,ⁱ and of which there are still some considerable remains.^j This also consisted of four great limbs extended toward the cardinal points of the compass. In the central point of the cross so formed, probably hypæthral, was the well of Jacob, or otherwise of the woman of Samaria. The authenticity of this well, says the Comte de Vogüé, is contested by no one. Catholics, mahometans, jews, and even protestants, all agree in recognising here that "parcel of a field" which Jacob bought of the sons of Emmor, the father of Sichem,^k the well which he sunk in the spot so purchased,^l the burial-place of Joseph after the long rest of his honoured relics in Egypt and their weary wanderings in the desert of Sinai,^m and beyond all the rest the scene of the interview between our Lord and the samaritan woman, when Jesus "being wearied with His journey"ⁿ sat down to rest upon the margin of this venerable spring. Here even scepticism itself is at fault, and the Count is able to refer his readers to Dr. Robinson for an argument, which from such a quarter is above suspicion, in favour of the authenticity of the well, around which this great church was erected.^o

^h Evag., Schol. Hist. Eccl. i. 14, quoted in full in the Count de Vogüé's work, p. 142.

ⁱ Cf. Lenoir's "Archit. Monast.," i., p. 254.

^j Cf. the Comte de Vogüé's "Les Eglises de la terre sainte," p. 356.

^k "And Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padan-aram; and pitched his tent before the city. And he bought a parcel of a field, where he had spread his tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred pieces of money. And he erected there an altar, and called it El-elohe-Israel." (Gen. xxxiii. 18-20.)

^l "Then cometh Jesus to a city of Samaria, which is called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph. Now Jacob's well was there." (John iv. 5, 6.) "Art thou greater than our father Jacob, which gave us the well, and drank thereof himself, and his children, and his cattle?" (Ib., iv. 12.)

^m "And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem, for an hundred pieces of silver." (Joshua xxiv. 32; cf. also Gen. l. 24-26; Ex. xiii. 19; Acts vii. 16.)

ⁿ John iv. 6.

^o The custom of erecting churches upon sacred and historical sites, as those of the martyrdom of an athlete of the faith, was quite universal in the early ages, and Syria and the Holy Land abound with examples of it. The Jewish synagogues were more commonly associated each with some symbol which recalled an event in the history of the nation, Aaron's budding rod, for example, or the table of the shew-bread. And this symbol it

FIG I

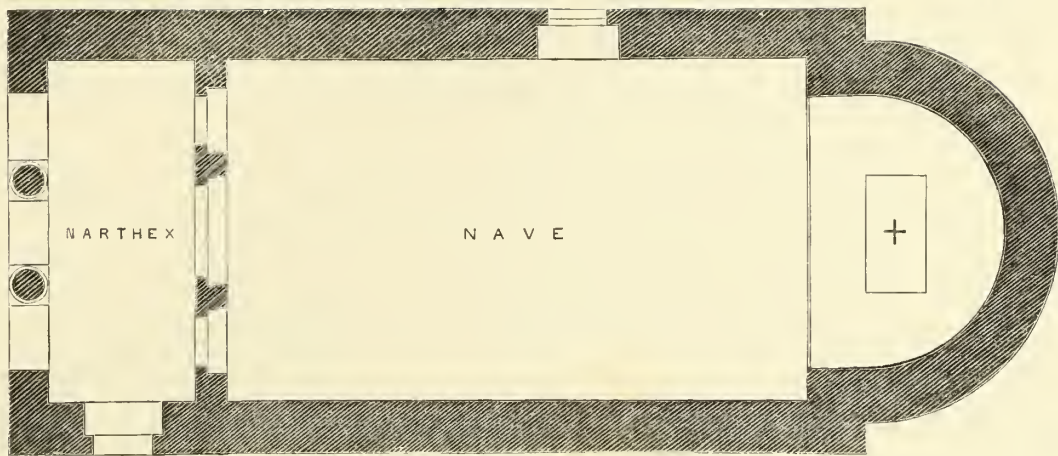


FIG. II.

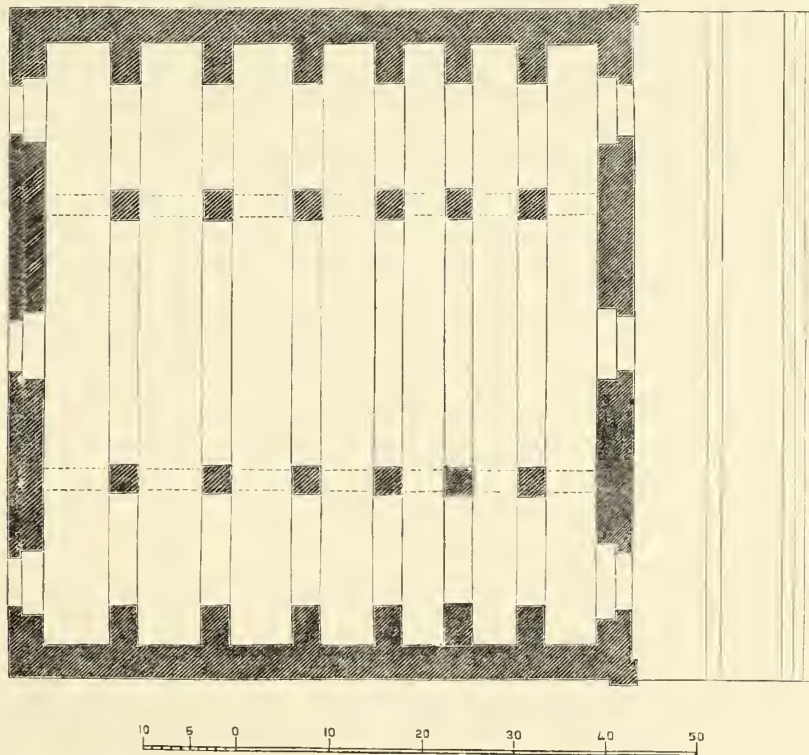


FIG. I. CHURCH AT BABOUDA, NEAR ALEPPO.

FIG. II. SECULAR BASILICA AT CHAQQA, NEAR DAMASCUS.

Returning from this digression into Palestine, I would observe that the churches of the northern part of the country are, as I have said, all of the basilican model, and that it is these, therefore, to which I have chiefly directed attention, as illustrating, in a remote land, the gradual developement of that type from which our own church architecture is mainly derived. These churches have all been roofed in wood.

In the south, where timber was not to be procured, the roofs are of stone, and great ingenuity is exhibited in meeting the requirements of such a mode of construction. Here, too, we find examples of that other type, wholly distinct from that of the western basilica, which we commonly term byzantine: churches of which the great feature is the domical form of roofing. As, however, this type exercised no influence upon our english ecclesiology, until, in the seventeenth century, it had ceased to be, strictly speaking, english at all, there is no occasion to refer here to these buildings, most valuable though they are, in illustrating the progress of this branch of the general history of christian architecture.

Among the ancient churches of Rome, to which we will now direct our attention, there is found no example of that earliest type—an apsidal sanctuary opening upon an aisle-less nave—of which there are numerous instances elsewhere. I have referred to several in Asia Minor and in Syria, and the same simple model—but with a rectangular sanctuary—is to be found in all parts of Ireland. That it should be entirely unrepresented among the churches of early date in which Rome, beyond all other spots, abounds, is therefore somewhat remarkable.

It is so common, and indeed so natural, to assume, as the starting-point in the history of ecclesiology, the basilicas of Rome, that the fact that none of these exhibit the earliest type of a christian church has contributed, not a little, to that misconception of the subject which is so general.

The same tendency to restrict the view to the monuments of the primitive age, afforded by Rome, has led to the assumption that in the chapels of the catacombs are to be found the typical examples of the churches of the earliest age.^p A wider study has led to the correction of these crude theories. The christian basilicas of Rome are now seen to be derived, not from the contracted sanctuaries which the exigencies of a persecution—bitter indeed, but

was the custom to represent in sculpture upon the lintol of the principal entrance. The Rev. George Williams (so well known as an explorer of the Holy Places) when upon a visit, in company with the Count de Vogüé, at my father's house, many years ago, mentioned that the remains of the synagogue at Capernaum had recently been discovered, and that upon raising the fallen lintol of its door, which for centuries had been lying upon its face, the symbol carved upon it was found to be the Pot of Manna. Thus the synagogue in which our Lord delivered His ever-memorable discourse upon "the bread of God," was dedicated—as we should say—in honour of that earlier "food of angels" (Ps. lxxviii. 25), in which was foreshadowed the enduring "wonder" of the New Law (John vi. 50). Very real becomes the scene to our view when (in front no doubt of this very doorway, as, with the people who had pursued Him across the lake, Jesus was about to enter this synagogue) we find Him addressed with the words, "What sign showest thou then that we may see and believe thee? What dost thou work? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat." Most impressive the fact, that this appeal to that great ancient miracle, which the building they were then entering itself commemorated, elicited from our Lord as the answer to the challenge "Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead—I am the living bread. The bread that I will give is my flesh." (John vi. 49, 51.)

^p On the same assumption some have attempted to derive the use of lighted tapers at the mass from the necessity of artificial light in these subterranean chapels. This theory requires us to believe, that Rome was the unique cradle of christianity, and that there, persecution was for three centuries perennial, and not, as was the fact, temporary and exceptional. The ritual use of lights in the early christian church was, like that of incense, inherited (of course) from the ceremonial of the old law.

always short-lived—allowed of, but from churches—of a simpler form but nevertheless of a characteristic and essentially christian type—erected above ground, of which, although Rome itself presents no remaining example, instances are to be still found in many parts of Christendom.

Upon this simple model of a nave terminated by an apsidal tribune, the first advance was made by the addition of aisles. Of this second stage in the progress of ecclesiology numerous examples are to be found in Rome. The basilicas of Rome form, indeed, a subject of themselves, and it would lead us too far away from our theme to enter upon it here, with anything of the fulness which it demands. I shall therefore only remark upon a few of these invaluable monuments, as illustrating the course of developement of the tradition, which was at length transplanted into our own country.

Of the simplest model afforded by the roman basilicas, the church of Sts. Nereus and Achilles, in the Appian street, of which I give an illustration, is a good example. This basilica is said, indeed, to date from the eighth century, but both in its general plan and in the distribution of its fittings it presents, very exactly, the tradition of earlier ages. To the basilica of St. Cæsareus, situate near to it, is attributed a much greater antiquity, but the arrangements of the two are similar. The church of St. Clement is a well-known example of this type, and it is a remarkable fact that the basilica recently discovered, beneath the floor of the present church, is of the same plan as the building above, with one point of exception. In the lower church the range of columns and arches is returned across the eastern end of the building, in the upper church it is not. The existing church is valuable as affording the most complete example of the ritual arrangements of the early ages, for there is reason to believe that its fittings were erected originally by Pope John II. (532-535) in the earlier church, and that upon the completion of the present building they were removed into it.^a The choir enclosures—low walls of white marble having a bench upon their inner face—the *pulpita* for the gospel and the epistle, together with the tall marble shaft to support the paschal candle, appear to be all of the earlier date. In the churches of St. George, *in Velabro*,^b and of St. Lawrence we find indications of a similar arrangement, but these basilicas have lost the enclosing walls of the choir. The church of Sts. Nereus and Achilles retains its original distribution and fittings, but it is, though of the greatest interest, upon a rather limited scale.^c

We must not, however, place too great a reliance upon the details of these most interesting remains, as evidence of early usage. In their general distribution they no doubt represent very accurately the traditions of the first ages, but probably few, if any of them, are in their actual construction as early as the sixth century.^d

We see, in the Apocalypse, the indication of the existence of a *chorus psallentium*, and

^a An *ambo* or pulpitum was erected in the church of Sts. Cosmo and Damian by Pope Sergius I., in 687, as Anastasius relates. Cf. Lenoir, "Archit. Monast.," i. 191.

^b This church was founded in the fourth century. Always venerable to Englishmen as the one church in Rome dedicated in honour of the patron of England, it acquired for us a still closer interest when the greatest of english theologians, and the most profound of english thinkers, adopted it as the titular church of his Cardinalate.

^c There is a pulpitum, very similar in its general type to that of St. Clement's, in the church of St. Peter at Corneto (figured in Lenoir's "Archit. Monast.," i., p. 191) which dates from the thirteenth century (1209).

^d Some attribute the fittings of the choir of St. Clement's to the commencement of the ninth century. Those of which we see the remains at St. Lawrence can hardly be earlier than the portion of the church in which they stood, which we know to have been added to the original basilica, in 1216, by Pope Honorius III.

FIG. I.

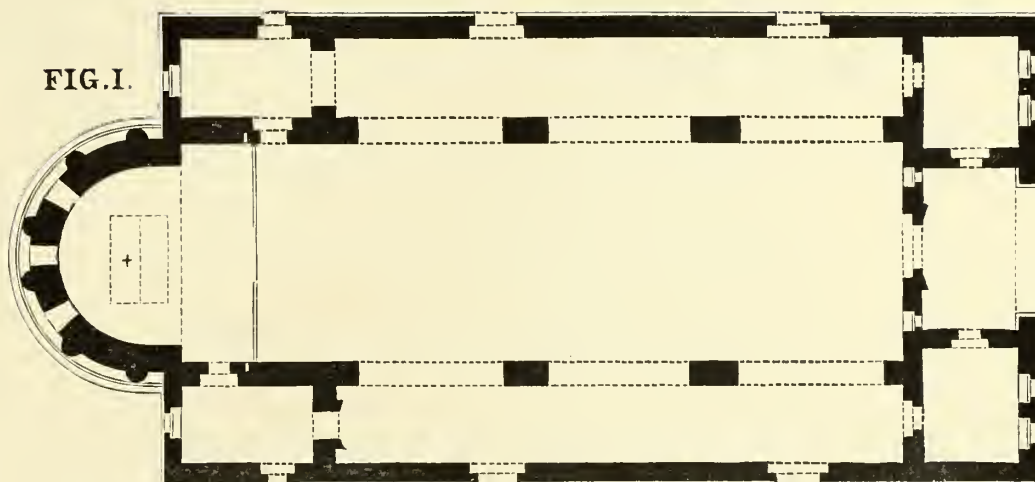


FIG. II.

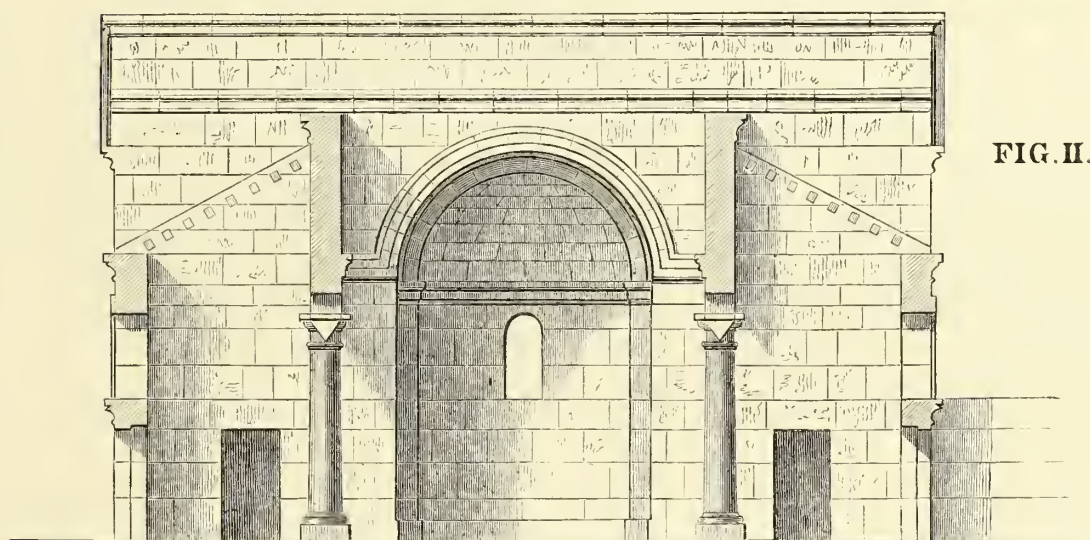


FIG. III.

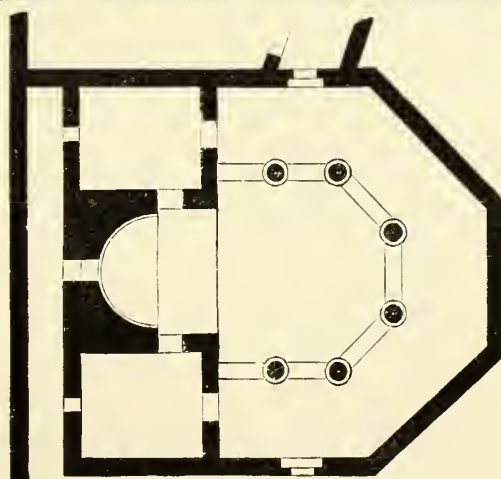


FIG. I. GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF QUALB LOUZÉ, NEAR ALEPPO.

FIG. II. & III. SECTION AND GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF MOUDJELEIA.

of the position which it occupied, identically the same with that presented to us in these roman monuments, so that we have a clear proof (which is confirmed from other sources) that no radical innovations, like those which were effected in the course of the middle ages, had as yet taken place.

But the arrangements of churches were being slowly, but very distinctly, influenced by that developement of the cœnobite, or monastic, idea which resulted from the very completeness of the triumph of the Church.

In the first ages of the faith, the christian society consisted exclusively of those upon whom the rigorous principles of the new religion had taken such a hold, that they governed absolutely the whole life. The first believers "had all things in common." The church was, so to speak, a monastery, and long after it had ceased—in fact—to be such, men were loath to admit that this ideal was too high to be realised, for long, upon earth.

The especial glory of the early basilicas is, that they express this, all-too-fair, ideal of a *civitas Dei*. They are designed for a community in which the prophecy had been fulfilled, that "Thy people shall be all righteous."^u

They are thus in their arrangements what, in the language of later ages, we should call "secular churches"; but only for this reason, that the *seculum* itself is become "religious," "and the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ."

We are constantly hearing of "the decay of primitive piety," of the "zeal of the faithful ever diminishing," of the sad contrast between the fervour of the first ages and the lukewarmness of the generations which succeeded to them. But this easy common-place conveys, in reality, a very false impression. It is not the case that the numbers of the intensely zealous and devoted, who were prepared to follow, at any cost, the "sweet folly of the Cross," decreased as time went on. Far from it: their numbers were ever upon the increase, and doubtless are so still. But what augmented ever, in a much higher ratio, as the triumph of christianity became more assured and more irresistible, in every department of human thought and action, was the number of the half-hearted believers, of those who were christians, only because it required no sacrifice to be so, because every one about them was such, and because, in short, it had become "respectable."

The result of this accession of the indifferent and character-less crowd produced, as its proper effect, the developement of the "regular" and monastic life. The church, ever willing to be "made all things to all men, that it might by all means save some,"^w was no longer, as a whole, adequate to its ideal. It could not, if it was to do its work in the world, be such. But within it was gradually being formed an inner circle, in which the pure and ardent "first love"^x of early times should be preserved, and the ideal of the primitive church should continue, in its measure, to be realised upon earth.

Hence the formation of bodies of regular clergy, and of laymen living under the monastic rule,^y carrying out in actual practice those communistic principles of the apostolic teaching

^u Is. lx. 21.

^v Rev. xi. 15.

^w 1 Cor. ix. 22.

^x Rev. ii. 4.

^y It must not be forgotten that monasteries are essentially lay-communities. In many orders of monks there exists even a sort of jealousy of the admission of persons in holy orders (as, of necessity, interfering somewhat with the desired equality of all the members of the family), which has led to the restriction of the numbers of such to the *minimum* which will suffice for the performance of the offices of religion. In the *Liber Vitæ* which lay upon the high altar at Durham (and which is now in the British Museum) the names of the benefactors of the house, of which it is list, are classed under the following heads (among others), abbots in priest's orders; abbots in deacon's orders; abbots, priests, deacons, clerks, monks. Cf. Eyre's "St. Cuthbert," p. 216.

which are the logical result of christian charity and its fairest fruit; and which, applied apart from this, form the severest scourge of a self-indulgent society—*corruptio optimi pessima*.^z

It is obvious that a body of regular clergy, living in community, and bound to a daily and nightly round of choral offices, requires a choir-area more extended and generally more developed, in its fittings and arrangement, than suffices for the accommodation of those clerics in minor orders, who, in the ritual of the early church, during the singing of the great mass, had their station in this part of the basilica.^{aa} Still greater were the necessary innovations of arrangement in those churches erected, not to be served by a body of regular canons, but for the use of a community of monks. The members of such societies were, not even clerics of the lower rank but, simply laymen, living together and apart, under a severe rule, and endeavouring to maintain, in the midst of a corrupting society, the high standard of the apostolic age.

It is therefore naturally in the quires of churches that we find the greatest innovations to have resulted (during the dark ages, and those which succeeded) from that movement which concentrated more and more in the cœnobitic communities, those communistic principles, and that rigorism, which, in the first days, were diffused, more or less, throughout the whole christian society.

St. Clement, the companion of St. Paul, and the second in succession from St. Peter in the see of Rome, was banished to the Crimea by the Emperor Trajan, by whose orders he was shortly afterwards drowned in the sea. Upon his conversion Clement had erected in his own palace, at the foot of the Cœlian hill,^{bb} an oratory, to which, after the martyrdom of its founder, a peculiar reverence naturally attached. It is probable that the basilica, the remains of which have recently been discovered and exposed to view, through the discernment and the zeal of Father Mullooly, beneath the floor of the upper church, was erected by Constantine, in close proximity to this venerated sanctuary. It is certain that a church was here in existence in the time of St. Jerome (who died A.D. 420), since that father speaking—in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers—of Clement says, “*nominis ejus memoriam usque hodie Romæ exstructa ecclesia custodit.*”

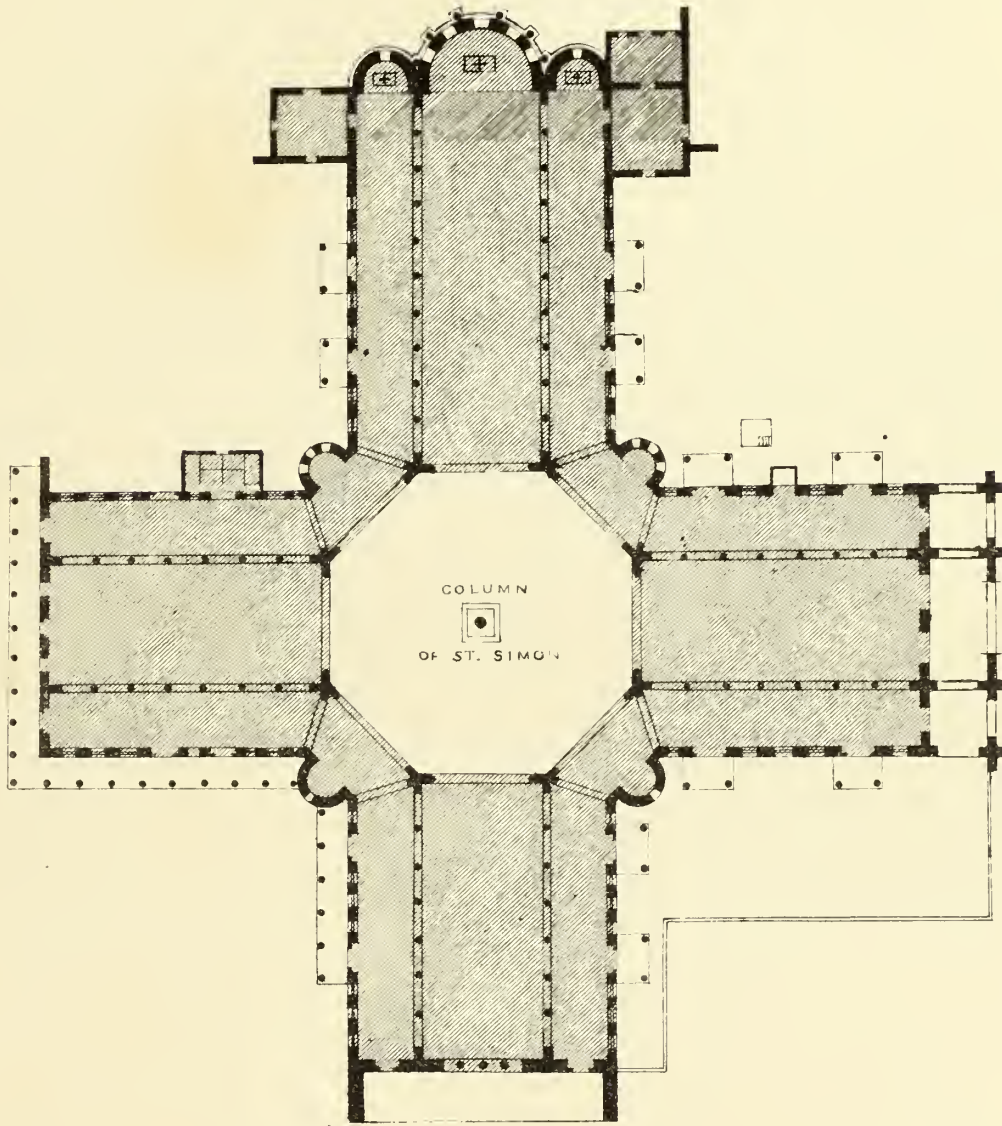
The body of the martyred pontiff was not brought to Rome until the time of Adrian II. (867-872), so that the *memoria* of which St. Jerome speaks was not, as is usually the meaning of the term, the place in which the saint's relics were deposited, but in all probability the oratory which he had dedicated in his own house.

^z The two forms of communism may be thus distinguished. The christian communist says—“property is an evil, all things should be held in common—therefore I will surrender what is mine.” The infidel communist says—“property is an evil, all things should be held in common—therefore I will take what is yours.” The early monastic settlements were, in modern language, great co-operative farms. The principle of what is now termed co-operation, was first realised, and effectively carried out, by christian monks, and at the present day the cistercian monasteries exhibit the most complete model of co-operative agriculture, hitherto attained in practice.

^{aa} The choir of the Apocalypse appears, from the description of the habit in which the 144,000 are vested (the ungirded linen rochet or *collobium*), to answer to this body of inferior clergy, but a certain affinity is also indicated with the “regular” and cœnobite clergy, to whom in later times, the function of the choir came to be assigned. Cf. Rev. xiv. 4. Of the numbers of these clergy in minor orders a curious piece of evidence, of very early date, is afforded in the letter of pope Cornelius (251-252) upon the heresy of Novatus, which Eusebius has given us in his Ecclesiastical History (vi. 43). It appears from this that while, in the church of Rome, there were at that time forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, and seven sub-deacons, there were of clerics in the four minor orders (acolytes, exorcists, readers, and ostiarii), forty-two.

^{bb} And in close proximity to the wall of Servius Tullius, which at this point is unusually well preserved.

· PLAN · OF ·
· THE · GREAT · CHURCH · OF · ST. SIMON · STYLITES ·
· KALAT · SEMA'N ·



0 25 50 75 100 125 150

In this church, the remains of which, after the lapse of eight, or possibly of ten, centuries, have been thus strangely brought to light, Pope Zosimus in 417 promulgated the condemnation of the Pelagian Celestius, as we know from his own statement,^{cc} and in it Gregory the Great delivered his panegyric.

The cause of the ruin of the original church is attributed either to the earthquake of 896, or the destruction of this quarter of the city by Robert Guiscard, in 1084. The existing church was built, above the ruins of the older building, and generally upon the same lines, but upon a somewhat smaller scale.

The basilica of St. Agnes, without the walls, resembles this earlier church of St. Clement in having the aisle returned across its eastern extremity, and the same peculiarity is to be observed in the basilica of St. Lawrence. These two churches have also the striking feature of an upper range of aisles, not, as in later churches, a mere triforium, but a spacious gallery as large, and almost as lofty, as the aisle below. As this gallery, like the aisle itself, is returned across the end of the building, the effect of these interiors is exceeding fine.^{dd} In these upper stories the women had their station. It is possible that the earlier St. Clement's possessed the same arrangement. This type is, in idea, an extension and developement upon that of which Sts. Nereus and Achilles is an example, though it is not certain that it is actually later in date. The greater basilicas, to which I shall have next to refer, do not possess either the returned aisle or the upper gallery, and as they are both of the fourth century,^{ee} it seems to follow that the plan, which we see exemplified in the upper St. Clement's, and from which, rather than from that of the lower church or of St. Agnes, they are obviously derived, is really as early in actual date, as it is in the order of idea.

I may draw attention in passing to the characteristic process of enlargement applied by Pope Honorius III. (in 1216) to the basilica of St. Lawrence, by which the body of the original church became the presbytery of the new, and its orientation was reversed. It contrasts very remarkably with the mode in which (as we have seen at Canterbury and at Lyminge) an equivalent expansion of the simple basilican plan was effected north of the Alps.^{ff}

^{cc} "Resedimus in Sancti Clementis basilica, qui imbutus Beati Petri apostoli disciplinis tali magistro veteres emendasset errores, ratos-que profecto habuisset, ut fidem, quam didicerat et docuerat, etiam martyrio consecraret, scilicet ut salutiferam castigationem tanti sacerdotis auctoritas præsenti cognitione esset exemplo." (*Epist. S. Zosimi ad Africanos.*) I am indebted for this quotation, as well as for most of the information here given regarding this most interesting church, to Father Mullooly's work, "St. Clement and his Basilica in Rome" (Guerra, Rome, 1869), assisted by the plans there given, and by my own observation.

^{dd} The same is the arrangement of the great basilica at Thessalonica, already referred to.

^{ee} The ancient St. Peter's was commenced by Constantine in the year 306. The basilica of St. Paul, without the walls, which was destroyed by the lamentable fire of 1823, was commenced by the Emperors Valentinian II. and Theodosius in 388, on the site of a more ancient church founded by the first christian emperor.

^{ff} The result is suggestive of a solution of many of the difficulties which the arrangement of a modern cathedral presents. The only satisfactory treatment, for example, in the case of our own St. Paul's, must be to place the principal altar (as at St. Lawrence) between the nave and the choir. It would thus occupy the only position which is tolerable in such a church, in full view and under the full light of Wren's magnificent dome—the dominant feature of the interior, and the centre of the whole architectural composition. This alteration would be simply a return, from the practice of the middle ages, to that of the primitive church. The great church of St. John at Malta offers a noble example of such an arrangement. The model of Wren's original and favourite design, now in the South Kensington Museum, serves to show that this arrangement of the existing building would have approved itself to the great architect, had it been—in his day, and with the conditions under which he was forced to work—feasible, and some slight confirmation of this assumption is afforded by the fact, that he took a journey to Paris in 1665, in order to make the acquaintance of Bernini, who had just completed the glorious baldachin which stands beneath the dome of Michael Angelo. Cf. Parentalia, p. 261.

The great vatican, lateran, and ostien basilicas^{ss} exhibit two features of great magnificence, by the introduction of which the basilican model reached its grandest and fullest expansion. These are, first, the doubled aisle, and secondly, the transept. In the case of St. Paul's, without the walls, the latter member is itself doubled. In these splendid examples the basilican type of the christian church is exhibited upon the grandest scale and in its furthest development.

It would be foreign to our purpose to dwell, in any detail, upon these well-known churches. But it is necessary to observe that in neither of them do we find a *chorus cantorum*. The absence of this, in the case of the vatican basilica, the mother church of the whole latin patriarchate, is particularly to be remarked.

In the old St. Peter's, at the time of its demolition, the choir of the canons was in a side-chapel, occupying the same relative position on the south side of the nave, that it has in the existing church. In earlier times it was situated in a small enclosure against the southern pier of the triumphal arch. This position is analogous to that which the choir of singing-clerks occupy, during the high mass, in the present building.

The high altar in both of these basilicas was protected by a baldaquin, but St. Peter's possessed, in addition, a sanctuary screen of twelve Parian marble columns, arranged in two rows. These were of a spiral form, and decorated with sculptured vine-leaves. Their pedestals were connected by lattice-work in bronze breast-high; which in the central opening was formed into gates, which thus gave access, both to the presbytery, and to the confessional crypt beneath it.

Of these columns, six are attributed commonly to Constantine, and the other six to Pope Gregory III. in the eighth century; but the portions of this enclosure, which are preserved in the new basilica, appear to me to be of an earlier date than either.^{hh} It is clear from the account which Eusebius has left us of the great church, erected by Constantine, at Tyre, that that basilica possessed, from the first, a similar sanctuary-enclosure, a feature independent altogether of the baldaquin, which stood within the area which it enclosed.

I am enabled by the kindness of Canon Jenkinsⁱⁱ to place side by side with these remarks upon two of the greatest of the roman basilicæ, the description of one—apparently of very similar plan—erected by St. Paulinus at Nola, in honour of St. Felix, early in the fifth century.^{jj}

St. Paulinus was born at Bordeaux in the year 352, and was, very early in life, employed in some of the most dignified functions of the empire. In 393 he received the priesthood, and towards the end of the year 409 he was elected to the episcopal chair of Nola. His literary talents were such that St. Jerome says of him (Epist., 101, 102):—"Every one admired the purity and elegance of his diction, the delicacy and elevation of his thoughts, the strength and sweetness of his style, and the playfulness of his imagination."^{kk}

The learned canon to whom the reader is indebted for the publication of this interesting description of these two adjacent basilicas,^{ll} has appended to the text of the epistle, a full

^{ss} I speak, of course, of these churches in their ancient form. The plan which I give of St. Peter's is taken from Fornici, that of the old St. Paul's from Letarouilly.

^{hh} Tradition says that they were brought from Greece, or from the temple of Solomon.

ⁱⁱ Rector and Vicar of Lyminge.

^{jj} It will be found in the following discursus, which Canon Jenkins has allowed me to introduce in this place. This entire section is contributed by the learned author of "The Basilical Church of St. Mary at Lyminge."

^{kk} Cf. Dr. Rock's "Hierurgia," 238, 271.

^{ll} At Trieste may be seen two basilicas, standing side by side, and communicating with each other by what is termed, in the letter of St. Paulinus, a *transenna*. This double building (a plan of which will be found in Lenoir,

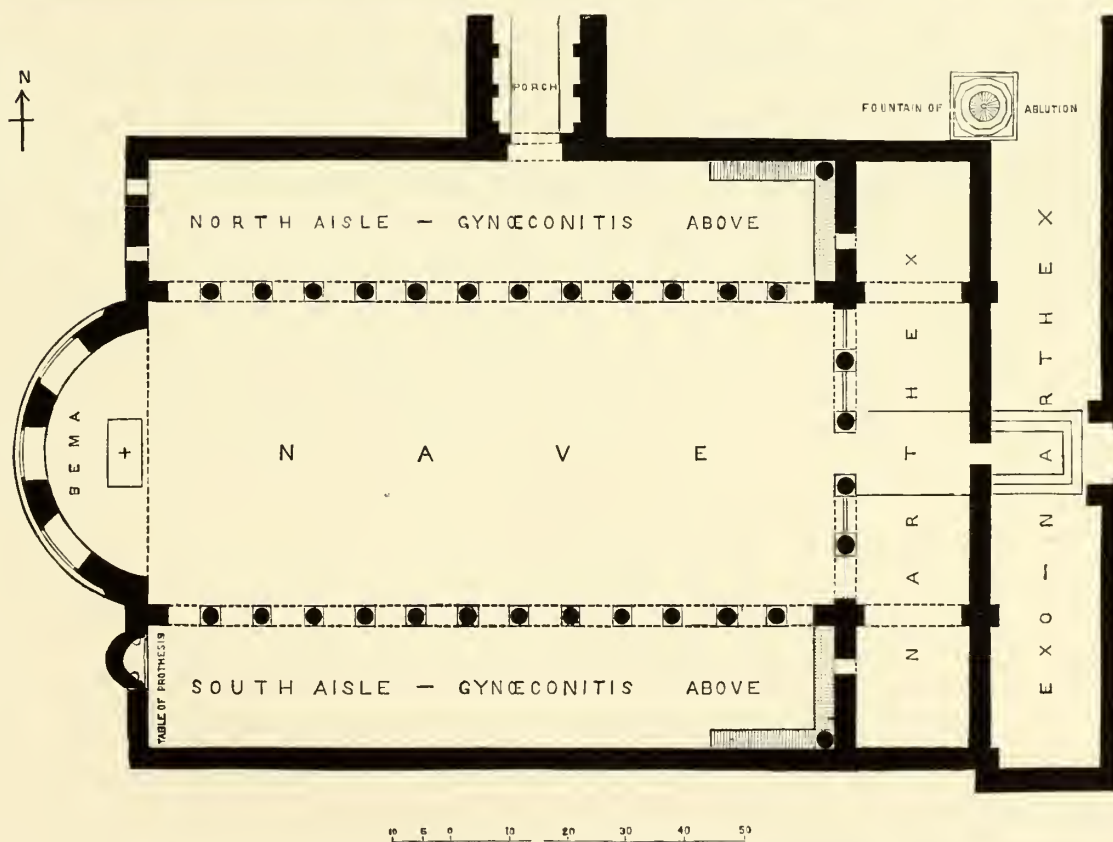
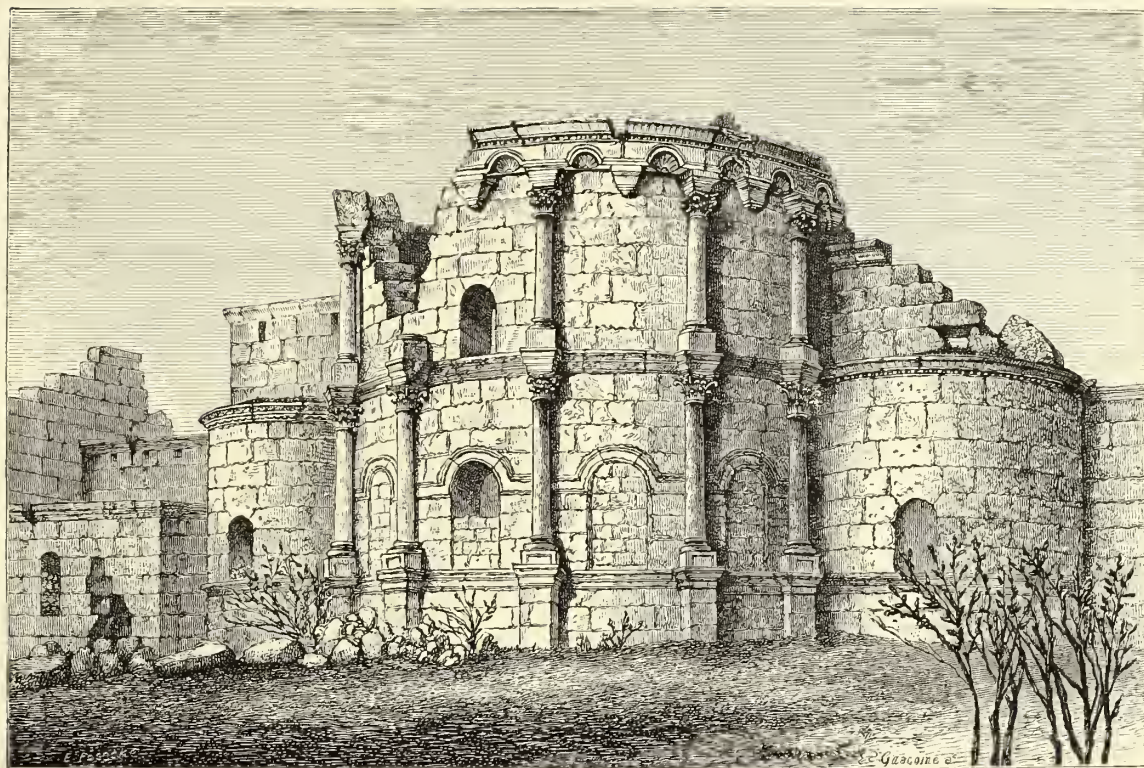


FIG. 1. EXTERIOR OF THE APSE OF THE CHURCH OF ST. SIMON STYLITES, NEAR ALEPPO.

FIG. II. PLAN OF A BASILICA AT THESSALONICA.

translation, and has illustrated it further by notes and observations, which make it unnecessary for me to enter upon a description of this great church, or indeed to do more than to refer the reader to them. I will only remark that, like the vatican basilica, the church at Nola had its high-altar toward the west: ^{mm} it resembled it further in having doubled aisles, and also, as I believe (although it is not expressly so stated), in being transeptal.ⁿⁿ It differed from St. Peter's in the fact that its apse was in some sense *triple*. Whether, as Canon Jenkins suggests, there were lesser *conchulae* recessed from the apse itself, as is common in the East, or three distinct apses opening out of the transept, side by side, as is common in the western churches of somewhat later date, is not clear.

In these three great churches we see the primitive model in the stage of its highest expansion, and a review of the progress, by which this was arrived at, affords a complete refutation of the crude theory which sees in the pagan basilica the prototype of the christian.

Leaving out of consideration the simple oblong room of the earliest oratories (which afford necessarily no indication of their ritual arrangements), we see the first starting-point in that progress, of which the vatican and ostien basilicas are the highest expression, to have been an oblong building, standing always west and east, having its entrance towards the east, and at its western extremity, an arch opening upon a smaller chamber or recess, semi-circular on plan in most parts of christendom, but in Britain of rectangular form. In the centre of this recess stands a quadrangular altar, and the arch itself is closed by a veil.^{oo} Such is—so to speak—the protoplasmic germ of christian ecclesiology: such is the model afforded us by the earliest churches extant in east and west, in Asia Minor and central Syria, as in our own isles: such is the form which was present to the mind of the author of the Apocalypse; and such the simple stage upon which this inspired drama is displayed.

Nor is the source whence was derived this pregnant germ far to seek. The Tabernacle and the Temple of the old dispensation, in its Holy Place and its Holiest of Holies, separated the one from the other by a veil, supplied—sufficiently obviously—the model from which, with certain characteristic differences, is derived the sanctuary of the New Law. Of this simple

"Archit. Monast.," i., p. 181) explains, I think, very clearly the description of the twin churches at Nola, which, as regards their relative position, and the mode in which the communication between the two was designed, is, of itself, somewhat obscure.

^{mm} As is clear, I think, from the mention of the *lateral* entrance of the smaller basilica as being exceptional. Of the *prospectus* or façade of entrance of this latter church it is stated "*non, ut usitator est mos, ad orientem spectat.*" It fronted towards the confessional crypt of the greater basilica. "*Ad domini mei Beati Felicis basilicam pertinet, memoriam ejus aspiciens.*"

ⁿⁿ We may infer the existence of a transept from the following considerations:—1. There is no example known of a double-aisled basilica without transepts. 2. It is difficult to see how the great triple *transenna* can have opened upon the flank of the great church unless there was a transept. At any rate the junction must have been a very awkward one if there were no transept, but it would be perfectly easy, and architecturally very effective, if we conceive the *transenna* as opening by three portals upon the end of the transept. Upon this theory the wall which was removed ("*paries obstructus*") in order to open out a communication with the new basilica was the end wall (north or south) of the transept, in which the *apsis cujusdam monumenti* formed a recess.

^{oo} Of this, almost embryonic, stage there is a good example (figured in my father's Lectures, ii., p. 17) at Teampull Rona, in the Hebrides. This tiny church has a nave only 8 feet 3 inches in width by about 14 feet in length. A sanctuary arch, narrower than an ordinary doorway, gives access to chancel 11 feet long. It has a small altar, of stone, and a piscina-recess. Its principal door is in the south side of the nave. Its side-walls are built battering, and its sanctuary is eastward. In the smallness of its chancel-arch it is further removed from the roman basilica than are the early churches of Ireland, which, as we shall presently see, have always spacious "arches of triumph."

idea, having its origin in the sacred tent erected, three-and-thirty centuries ago, in the desert of Sinai,^{pp} all the magnificent temples with which the piety of eighteen centuries has adorned christendom, present but the expansion.^{qq}

This primitive type was enlarged in the first instance by the addition of aisles, either lateral only, or returned also across the eastern end of the building; and from this plan the parish churches of the west derive their model. Further enlargement was gained by the addition, first of a second story to the aisles; and then of a second aisle beyond the first range; and finally by the introduction of the transept, in which was at length reached that cruciform plan, of which all the great churches of later times exhibit the wonderful capabilities.

Thus from the very simplest germ, by a gradual progress, a form of building was arrived at, in which vastness of area is combined with a stately simplicity and a dignified severity, which are without a parallel, even among the most magnificent works of later ages.

The history of the secular basilica is almost the exact reverse of this. Its origin is to be sought in the great open *forum* surrounded by colonnades and shops, of which it was a smaller version. This relation to the forum is well seen in the great unroofed basilica of Julius Cæsar (*basilica Julia*), and in that of Trajan (*basilica Ulpiana*). It is illustrated upon a smaller scale in the similarly un-roofed basilica still standing at Pompeia; and among modern buildings the Bourse at Liège, the Palais Royal at Paris, and our own Royal Exchange give, perhaps, the best notion now to be had of the nature of such buildings, and of the purposes for which they served.^{rr}

It was only, of course, when the basilica was comparatively small that it was possible to roof it in. The earliest instance which we find, of a basilica which was not hypæthral, is given us by Vitruvius in his description of the one which he carried out at Fanum.

In treating of the basilica in general he clearly contemplates an unroofed and cloistered area, since he says, "*basilicarum loca adjuncta foris quam calidissimis partibus oportet constitui ut per hiemem sine molestia tempestatum se conferre in eas negotiatores possint.*"

He then proceeds to describe a second and smaller class, in which the central space is covered by a timber roof. This he illustrates by an example of his own designing. He describes an oblong area, 120 feet by 60, surrounded by a colonnade or aisle in two stories, the centre of one side of which is left open to afford a prospect of the adjoining Forum and of the temple of Jupiter. Upon the centre of the opposite side abuts the *pronaos* of the temple of Augustus, the roof of which is at the same level with that of the basilica itself, and is continued so as

^{pp} Cf. p. 33. The Solomonic temple was precisely of the same form of distribution: it consisted of a rectangular *sanctum*, 90 feet by 30, opening upon an *adytum* (or *oracle*), 30 feet square, parted from it by the symbolical veil. As the height of these two apartments was different, that of the *sanctum* being 45 feet, while that of the *adytum* was only 30, it is evident that there intervened something of the nature of an arch, across which the veil was suspended. (Cf. 1 Kings vi. 2-20; 2 Chron. iii. 3-8.) It is singular that the British and Irish churches, in the rectangular form of their sanctuaries, conform, more nearly than does the Roman or basilican plan, to the Mosaic and Solomonic original.

^{qq} In the fact of *orientation* the Christian basilicas present a peculiarity unknown to the secular basilicæ. This *orientation* is clearly a tradition of the Jewish ritual, and that form of it which is characteristic of the primitive age (that in which the sanctuary is toward the west), is simply that of the ancient Tabernacle. (Cf. Exod. xxvi. 18, 20, 22, 27, 35; xxvii. 9, 11-13.) It is remarkable that any one, who is acquainted with the Pentateuch, should have considered (as so many have done, even in recent times) the westward position of the early Christian sanctuaries puzzling and even abnormal. It is also remarkable that so venerable a tradition should ever have been (as it has been universally, ever since the earlier dark ages) disregarded.

^{rr} In one of our own cathedrals, it is not the church, but the cloister, which most resembles in its general notion, the idea of the secular basilica.

to intercept with it. There is in this basilica no apse, but provision is made for the transaction of legal business by a semi-circular tribune, placed in advance of the pronaos of the temple of Augustus, and so low as not to interfere with the view of the temple behind it.⁸⁸ Vitruvius states that the tribunal is thus planned in order that the transaction of legal business might not interfere with, what was the main purpose of the basilica, the meeting of commercial men.

From the manner in which the account of this building is introduced by Vitruvius, following on, as it does, upon that of the larger and hypæthral basilica, as well as from the rather clumsy provision which is described for lighting the interior (by mere voids left between the roofs of the upper gallery and the *testudo* of the central area), we may infer that, in the time of Augustus, a covered basilica was a novelty. It is possible that the one thus described was actually the first ever so treated. It is at any rate the only timber-roofed secular basilica known, and beyond this fact of having a wooden *testudo* and galleried aisles, it has absolutely nothing in common with the christian model.^{tt}

Of the next stage in the history of the roofed basilica, that upon the Palatine hill (the *basilica Jovis*) is an example of which we have actual remains. It was constructed by the Flavian emperors in the first century. On plan it resembles the christian buildings in having aisles (possibly galleried) and an apsidal termination. But in the most important feature of its whole construction it is entirely unlike any early christian church. I allude, of course, to the vast concrete or brick vault by which—as is clear from the provision made, in the plan, for its abutment—it was covered in. There is not one of the christian basilicas which is so treated, or to which such a vault could, by possibility, be applied. The vault is as foreign to their construction, as it is the germinating principle of the plan of this secular hall.

In the basilica commenced by Maxentius and completed by Constantine, the vault is again the dominating feature, and in the type, which is illustrated by this noble ruin, the original notion of the secular basilica—a central area surrounded by porticos—is finally lost. There is here no longer any tradition of the Forum. There are no colonnades,^{uu} no lateral aisles. Here is no longer a cloistered garth, no longer an aisled exchange, but simply a vast vaulted hall. Such is the form which the secular basilica had assumed at the time when christianity became the religion of the imperial government.

Thus the history of this form of building is almost exactly the reverse of that which we have observed in the case of the christian temple.

The latter is the history of a constant expansion and enlargement of a very small original, through which, by a *ἀναπληρώσις*, very significant of the spirit of the new dispensation, the one narrow sanctuary at Jerusalem, while it was multiplied over the whole world, was also gradually extended by successive developements, till—from being one of the most confined of *adyta*—it had come to cover the vast areas of the vatican or the ostien *basilicæ*.

The secular basilica, on the other hand, originating in the Forum, became, first a cloistered court, then a colonnaded exchange, and lastly a vaulted hall. As the history of the one is that of a constant expansion of area, so that of the other exhibits an equally uniform diminution.

⁸⁸ The *pronaos* of the temple occupied the length of three intercolumniations. As the tribunal was not a complete semicircle, but a segment 46 feet by 15, a small space would be left, on either side of it, to give access to the temple in rear of it.

^{tt} The whole passage, with a translation, will be found below.

^{uu} From which the name itself (*βασίλικη*, sc. *στέγη*) is, as we have seen above, p. 4, derived.

There is one stage in each series in which the two are not dissimilar, but even these do not synchronise.

The theory commonly taught requires us, in fact, to believe that the basilicas, which, in the fourth century were, as it is assumed, handed over to the christian congregations were buildings which had been erected in the first, and that the Church, being without any traditional type of edifice adapted to her ritual, was compelled, in the time of Constantine, to imitate buildings which had been erected under Augustus or Nero.^{vv}

I may notice, in passing, that an obscurity, parallel to that in which the origin of the typical christian temple of the first ages has become involved, surrounds the early history of the vestment characteristic of the christian priesthood.

In each case there exists—side by side with the christian model—a pagan one, sufficiently nearly resembling it, to lead to a confusion which more accurate study is gradually clearing up. As in the case of the material church we have one, out of the many forms of the secular basilica—that of the Basilica Jovis—resembling in several respects the christian model of some three centuries later, so to the *casula* or *phenolion*, of the christian ceremonial, we find a parallel in the *pænula* of every-day roman life. In each instance the resemblance is misleading: in the latter case it appears to be purely accidental.

We have seen that the christian basilica, of the type of the ancient St. Clement's, was at once an expansion of a simpler form,—that without aisles,—and also a transition towards one of much more elaboration, the double-aisled and double-transepted model of St. Paul's without the walls: while the corresponding pagan example, upon the Palatine hill, is an instance of one stage in a progress of quite an opposite tendency, namely from the vast unroofed and cloistered Basilica Julia—an enclosed forum rather than a hall—to the vaulted type of the basilica of Constantine—a hall rather than a basilica. The stages of these two opposite lines of developement, which alone appear parallel, the one to the other, are not even contemporary in date, and the coincidence is in fact, to a great degree, accidental. So too with the history of the christian vestment.

The resemblance between the early form of the chasuble and that of the *pænula* is clear enough, and the greek name *phenolion* is no doubt derived from *φανόλης*, and yet, for all this, the two appear to have no real connexion. Nothing indeed is so misleading as an all-too-obvious resemblance. How many errors of classification—for example—in the treatises of Matthiolus, Gerard, and the early botanists, are due to this one source alone.

First then of the origin of the name, always to be distinguished carefully from that of the thing. *Planeta* appears to refer simply to the ample form of the vestment, and to its loose

^{vv} That some few secular basilicas were, like many of the heathen temples, converted into christian churches is possible. Ausonius, addressing the Emperor Gratian (A.D. 375), says: "The basilicas, which heretofore were wont to be filled with men of business, are now thronged with votaries praying for your safety." Strangely enough we have not a single well-authenticated instance of such a conversion: while of the adaptation of pagan temples to the purpose of christian worship there are abundant instances. But the appropriation of some secular basilicas can no more establish the derivation of the christian model from these buildings, than the much more common conversion of the temples of the gods can prove the christian Church to have derived from these its own distinctive architectural type. I think it just possible that in the passage which I have quoted, Ausonius is playing upon the new meaning which—since the official recognition of Christianity—the word *basilica* had acquired. Once it signified only an exchange, now it denoted a house of prayer. This, rather than the actual transference of any of the buildings themselves, may have been in the writer's mind. The establishment of the peace of the Church had no tendency to diminish the numbers of the "men of business," or to render it any less necessary, than it had been before that event, that they should possess exchange-halls in which they might assemble.

folds, swaying with every movement of the figure. *Casula* I suppose is derived from its completely covering and enclosing, as it were in a conical hut, the whole body. *Phenolion* indicates its obvious resemblance to the *pænula* of common life. *Pallium rotundum*, the term occasionally used, indicates in the same way its general similarity to the secular *pallium*, or *ἱματίον*—a very large piece of stuff, enveloping loosely the whole body—and also its distinction from the latter as being not square, as this was, but circular.

All these names then are of a popular character : they are derived, not from the history or origin of the thing, but from its shape, and from the appearance it presented when in use. The name *phenolion* is no better evidence that the vestment it described was derived from the *pænula* in common use, than is the name *casula* that it took its origin from a wigwam.

The *prima facie* presumption is all against the identity of the chasuble and the *pænula*. The latter was regarded as an undignified, and slightly vulgar, costume as compared with the *toga*. Laws were passed under the early Empire to forbid its use, in public, by senators and magistrates. The *toga* was the dress of the emperor, of the consuls, of the prætors and quæstors, of the augurs, and of the priesthood generally, and was worn, too, by all persons, of whatever class, when engaged in sacred rites, or in the discharge of religious vows. It is not credible, then, that the christians, had they needed to borrow, from their pagan fellow-citizens, a habit for the use of their own priests when performing the most venerable mysteries of the New Law, should have adopted, not the stately *toga*, but the unceremonious and almost vulgar *pænula*.

At the present day when the inhabitants of some remote island think fit to array their sovereign, or their high-priest, in a dress of european make, they have generally the good sense to select the uniform of a naval officer, or the frock coat of a missionary, rather than the "cut-away" coatee of the trader, or the sailor's jacket. We must credit our forefathers in the faith with sufficient tact to have avoided an error, which even uncivilized tribes, in contact with the novelty of civilisation, do not commonly commit, and we must not, therefore, suppose the author of the Apocalypse to have represented the high-priest of heaven itself as clothed in a dress, which was forbidden by law to be worn, by any person of high social or official position, or by any one when engaged in the performance of religious rites ; a dress which owed its popular, and gradually increasing favour, to its unceremonious freedom and its homely comfort.

That there was no objection, upon the part of christians, to the *toga*, we may gather from this fact, that it is the *toga* which is the traditional habit of the apostles, and that even our Lord himself, when conceived as the judge of all, or in what is termed, *a majesty*, has from the earliest ages been represented in this, the imperial and magisterial robe. Why then should the priestly vestment of the Apocalypse (in which the four-and-twenty presbyters are robed, as well as the high-priest himself), if it were but an adoption from the secular fashion of the day, be, not the full dress *τήβεννος* or *toga*, but the vulgar *pænula* ? It appears to me much more reasonable to suppose that the vestment intended by the word *ἱματίον*—the form of which we ascertain from early christian monuments, and which in latter times came to be known as *planeta* or *casula*—although in shape it was not unlike the secular *pænula*,^{ww} was yet derived from elsewhere, and that the resemblance between the two was, in point of fact, accidental.^{xx}

^{ww} The *pænula* was usually of wool, or even of leather, the traditional material of the *casula* is silk.

^{xx} The notion of forming a sort of ample cloak by the simple process of cutting a hole in the centre of a large piece of cloth, through which the head may be passed, is one so obvious that it has occurred to men of many different ages and countries. The mexican *poncha* resembles the christian vestment quite as much as did the

The girded white linen robe of the christian clergy has its admitted prototype in the vesture of the jewish sacerdotal order,^{yy} and this fact suggests the probability that the upper vestment characteristic of the christian priesthood, is derived from the same source, rather than from a plebeian dress of every-day life.

This presumption is increased almost to a certainty when we find that one of the distinctive features in the vestiture of the jewish high-priest was a robe precisely resembling the christian chasuble.

Upon the upper linen ephod Aaron was directed (Ex. xxviii. 15, *et seq.*) to suspend the breastplate (*rationale* Vulg.), and over all he was to assume what is termed (ib. 31) "the robe of the ephod," the nature of which is clear from the description which follows :—"There shall be a hole in the top of it, in the midst thereof: it shall have a binding of woven work round about the hole of it (as it were the hole of an habergeon), that it be not rent. And beneath, upon the hem (or skirts) of it, thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the hem thereof; and bells of gold between them round about: a golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the hem of the robe round about. And it shall be upon Aaron to minister: and his sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not." We see here a vestment so ample that it swayed with the movement of the figure, so that the little bells of gold, which adorned its lower edge, tinkled as the high-priest walked. In the midst of it (*i.e.*, when laid out flat), at the top of it (when in wearing) was to be a hole for the wearer's head to pass through, and the hem of this is directed to be protected by a binding, lest it should be rent in the putting on, or in the taking off.^{zz} It had thus but two hems in its making, the one at its lower edge, to which the golden bells were attached, adorned with embroidery, the other about the aperture through which the head was to be passed, protected by a binding. It appears therefore to answer exactly to the primitive and ample form of the chasuble, and if this be the case there can be little doubt as to whence that peculiar ornament of the christian ministry is derived.^{aaa}

penula; and I remember that at Eton we boys (though in happy ignorance that *casula*, which we should have translated "a little cottage," could ever mean "a large overcoat,") used to go to the bathing-places, on sunday mornings, vested in railway-rugs, to which an extemporised head-slit or *capitium* had given exactly the same form. I once heard some clever person speak of the chasuble as "the full dress of a roman gentleman of the fourth century." It might with equal truth be described as the shooting-coat of a mexican gentleman of the nineteenth; and perhaps the one statement would throw as much light upon the origin of the christian vestment as the other.

^{yy} "Samuel ministered before the Lord, being a child, girded with a linen ephod"—*accinctus ephod lineo*, 1 Sam. ii. 18; (cf. Exodus xxviii. 39, 40, where what is apparently the same girded linen vestment is termed in our translation "coat," and in the Vulgate *tunica*.) A second *ephod*, richly embroidered in colours, was worn by the high-priest alone. It was worn over the former, and was probably shorter than it, and is commonly so represented. Exodus xxviii. 4, *et seq.*

^{zz} Our translation compares this aperture to that of an habergeon, or coat of chain-mail, which resembles, in this respect a chasuble, in that it is put on over the head, which is passed through the hole formed for this purpose. The Vulgate reading is different; it merely speaks of the binding of the hem of the aperture: *sicut fieri solet in extremis vestium partibus*. This outer robe is, singularly enough, omitted in all the popular english representations of the vestiture of the jewish high-priest, and even in those usually given in catholic illustrated bibles. It is, however, exhibited quite correctly in the interesting 15th century sculptures, adorning the baptistery of the cathedral of Amiens, in which the ritual of the ancient dispensation is represented in a very accurate and very noble manner. The sacred scriptures would appear to have been more carefully studied at this period than at the present day.

^{aaa} This suggestion is made by Dr. Rock in his "Hierurgia" (p. 437). If it be, as it appears to me, a sound one, it will follow :—First, that the sacrificial vestment, in habitual use throughout the latin, greek, oriental, and

In this case, as in that of the basilica, the accidental resemblance between a pagan type, and a christian model, having its origin from a very different quarter, has tended to obscure the history, both of the sacred vestment and of the sacred building, and the error, detected in either instance, is the more easily recognised in the other.

From this digression returning to our more immediate subject—the examples namely which remain to us of churches erected before the mission of St. Augustine, as illustrating the course of ecclesiology and the progress which, in its developement, had been reached at the time of the conversion of the English—this would have been the place to give some examples of the churches of british christendom. Unfortunately existing monuments are here wholly wanting,^{bbb} and of written accounts we have but very little.

Putting aside the remains of the basilica of Lyminge, and the indications afforded by the account, preserved to us by Eadmer, of that at Canterbury (both of which buildings appear to have been the work of the roman colonists rather than of the native christians), I do not know of any direct evidence which we have, except in the case of the church, known as that of St. Joseph of Arimathea, at Glastonbury, and of this we have but little that can be relied on. “In Glastonbury,” says Mr. Freeman, “in this old part of Somerset, in this south-western corner of England, we are in a land which was not conquered until after the English had become christians. In this land therefore the religious establishments of the conquered people were respected, as they were not elsewhere, and Glastonbury, the greatest of all, lived on, as it had been, the greatest of british ecclesiastical foundations: it belonged alike to the conqueror and the conquered. What Exeter was among cities, Glastonbury was among churches.”

The saxon stone church was erected to the eastward of the british wooden building of Glastonbury—*lignea basilica* as it is termed in the account of Canute's visit. “This wooden or wicker church was standing when Glastonbury passed into the hands of the English: it was not destroyed, but was respected and allowed to remain as a highly venerated place.” Thus it remained until, in the twelfth century, it was replaced by the beautiful stone chapel, which fell to ruin, with so much else, at the Reformation. Previously to this catastrophe there was affixed to a pillar in the more modern church an inscription, upon a brass plate, giving the following information concerning the original british church.^{ccc}

“In the thirty-first year after the passion of the Lord, twelve holy men, of whom Joseph of Arimathea was the chief, came hither, who upon this spot erected the first church which was founded in this kingdom, which Christ, in His own person—as Saint David archbishop of Menevia, bears witness—Himself consecrated in honour of His Mother, and as a place of burial for His servants. For when he (St. David) was proposing to dedicate this church, the

scandinavian communions, has been in use, with an unbroken continuity, for over three thousand years: and secondly, that that which was one of the distinguishing marks, not of the priesthood generally, but of the high-priest alone, under the Old Law, is, in the Newer Rite, the characteristic ornament of every priest. This vestment, in combination with the alb, or *χιτώνιον*, forms a costume, the use of which, extending as it does at the present time over every part of the world, has an area far larger, and an antiquity far more remote, than that of any other dress in which man has ever clothed himself: a significant fact upon which a *Sartor resartus* might comment.

^{bbb} I much doubt whether the so-called british church of Peranzabuloe (St. Peran *in sabulo*), in Cornwall, is of so early a date as some would attribute to it. I have not had an opportunity of examining it myself, but from the descriptions given of it I suspect that it is, by many generations, later than the time of St. Augustine's mission.

^{ccc} See Spelman's *Concilia*, vol. i., p. 9, quoted in Petrie's “Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,” p. 192.

Lord appeared to him in a dream, and bade him to abandon his intention. And for a sign that the Lord himself had already consecrated the church and its cemetery, He, with His finger pierced the bishop's hand, which the next morning was seen, thus perforated, by many persons. Some time after, in consequence both of a revelation from the Lord, and also of the increasing number of the holy relics laid up in the church (*sanctorum numero in eadem crescente*), the same bishop added a certain chancel (*cancellum*) at the east end of this church, and consecrated it in honour of the Blessed Virgin, the altar of which he adorned (*insignivit*) with a sapphire of inestimable value, as a lasting memorial of these events. And lest the position or the dimensions of this former church should, in consequence of such enlargements (as have since taken place), pass into oblivion, this column is erected upon a line drawn through the two eastern corners of the said church (of Joseph of Arimathea), separating the aforesaid chancel from it, and continued some distance southwards. The length of the church westward from this line was sixty feet, and its breadth twenty-six feet, and the distance of the centre of this column from the middle point between the aforesaid corners of the church is forty-eight feet."

From this curious, and very precise, notice we gather that the original church was sixty feet long by twenty-six broad, and that until the time of St. David (who died about 544) it had no chancel, but was simply, in its primitive form, a rectangular chapel.

Beyond this scanty evidence we can only infer the character of the british churches from that of the buildings erected in Ireland, under the influence of the british missionaries, St. Patrick and his successors. Of these I have already spoken, but a few further remarks, extracted from Mr. Petrie's valuable work, may be added here, to give more completeness to the account.

Of these churches there are two kinds. The first is a mere quadrangular oratory, roofed in stone, with a western doorway and a south-eastern window.^{ddd} The larger churches present in addition to this nave "a second oblong of smaller dimensions extending to the east, and constituting the chancel, or sanctuary, in which the altar was placed, and which is connected with the nave by a triumphal arch of semi-circular form. These churches have rarely more than a single entrance, which is placed in the centre of the west end; and they are very imperfectly lighted by small windows splaying inwards, which do not appear to have been ever glazed. The chancel is always better lighted than the nave, and usually has two, and sometimes three, windows, of which one is always placed in the centre of the east wall, and another in the south wall; the windows in the nave are also usually placed in the south wall, and, excepting in the larger churches, rarely exceed two in number . . . In all cases the sides of the doorways and windows incline, like the doorways in the oldest remains of cyclopean buildings, to which they bear a singularly striking resemblance . . . The walls of these churches are always perpendicular, and are generally formed of very large polygonal stones, carefully adjusted to each other, both on the inner and outer faces, while their interior is filled-in with rubble and grouting."^{eee}

The "long and short work," so common in saxon buildings, is in Ireland rarely found except in the sides of the doorways and windows.^{fff}

"In the smaller churches of oblong form, without chancels, the roofs appear to have been

^{ddd} Thus even at this early date the primitive orientation, derived from that of the jewish temple, had come to be reversed.

^{eee} "Eccles. Architect. of Ireland," p. 159. Many of the smaller oratories and cells are constructed without mortar. Cf. *Ib.*, p. 420.

^{fff} *Ib.*, p. 185.

generally constructed of stone, their sides forming at the ridge a very acute angle . . . In the larger churches, however, the roof appears to have been constructed commonly of wood, and covered with reeds, straw, or oak-shingles. There are also instances of the chancel being roofed with stone, while the nave was roofed with lighter materials."^{ggg}

There is found occasionally a small apartment on one side of the chancel, serving no doubt as a sacristy. "Of such structures there are several examples remaining, as at Glendalough, Iniscorthy, the churches on the island at Killaloe, and in the cathedral of Killaloe."^{hhh}

These buildings, simple though they be, present many points worthy of notice, and they are particularly interesting to us, as throwing light upon the character of the churches of Britain, the ecclesiological traditions of which they undoubtedly represent.

In the first place we may remark the smallness of their dimensions. "The ancient irish churches," says Mr. Petrie, "are almost invariably of small size, their greatest length rarely exceeding eighty feet, and being usually not more than sixty. One example only is known of a church of greater length, namely, the great church, or cathedral, of Armagh, which, according to the 'Tripartite Life of St. Patrick,' was originally erected of the length of one hundred and forty feet. That sixty feet was, however, the usual length, even of the larger churches, appears not only from their existing remains, but also from the accounts preserved in the ancient Lives of St. Patrick, in which that length is given as the measurement of the *Domhnach Mor* or Great Church of Patrick, near Teltown, in Meath."ⁱⁱⁱ On the island of Inchaguile, in Lough Corrib, is a church called Templepatrick, which "though exhibiting the usual form of the larger churches, having a nave, triumphal arch, and chancel, is in its greatest external length only thirty-five feet six inches. The interior of the nave is seventeen feet eight inches in length, and thirteen feet six inches in breadth; and the chancel is a square of nine feet internally."^{jjj}

In these small dimensions, and in the short and square proportions of their sanctuaries they are resembled by many of our saxon churches. There is a marked difference in respect of scale between the two classes into which these latter—the churches erected in our own land in the course of the five centuries which intervened between the primacies of Augustine and of Lanfranc—are divided, those namely which are built upon the roman, or more strictly upon the *ultramontane* model,—for it is to Ravenna and Lucca, rather than to Rome, that we must look for their prototypes—and those which illustrate other and, presumably, british traditions. The very small saxon churches, such as those at Bradford in Wilts, and Escomb in the county of Durham, have square east-ends and belong to the latter class, while those churches which exhibit the italian manner, such as Brixworth, Wing, and Worth, are commonly upon a scale larger than is usual in our village churches, even of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The confessionalary crypt, too—an essentially latin feature—is found only in those of the saxon churches which exhibit this larger, and ultramontane, type. It is not found in any of the smaller square-ended churches, and is wholly unknown in Ireland. Those, therefore, of our great medieval churches which have crypts, as York and Canterbury, represent, in so far, the latin tradition: those which are without this feature, as St. Albans, Salisbury, and Westminster, follow, in this respect, the traditions of Glastonbury and of the early british Church.

In connection with their smallness of size is the fact of the entire absence of pillars and aisles. Although these churches are termed, by the oldest writers, *basilicæ*,^{kkk} they are wholly without that especial feature of the secular basilica, from which indeed the name itself is

^{ggg} Ib., pp. 103, 184.

^{hhh} Ib., p. 438.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ib., p. 158.

^{jjj} Ib., p. 161.

^{kkk} Ib., p. 159.

derived, the continuous colonnaded portico. This is a fact which is not without its bearing upon the christian application of the word.

In place of large churches, the custom prevailed, in Ireland, of erecting several small ones in proximity.^{lxxi}

We see here a tendency clearly not derived from roman traditions. It is a fashion which prevails still in Russia, and of which our own great medieval churches, divided up as they were in every direction, by screens and enclosures, into separate chapels and chancels, each with its own altar—an arrangement as different as possible from that of the latin basilica,—display the tradition.

“That the unadorned simplicity and contracted dimensions of the earliest irish churches,” says Petrie again, “were not altogether the result of poverty and ignorance of the arts in their founders, appears to me extremely probable. Poor those honoured individuals unquestionably were, but that poverty appears to have been voluntary, as became men walking in the footsteps of the Redeemer, and who obtained their simple food by the labour of their hands : but that they were ignorant of the arts, or insensible to their influence, could scarcely have been possible in such, very many of whom—Romans, Gauls, and Britons—were educated where those arts, although they had become debased, were still cultivated : and we have not only abundant historical evidence to show, that many of the ecclesiastics in those early times obtained celebrity as artificers and makers of the sacred implements necessary for the service of the church, and as illuminators of books, but we have also still remaining, the most indisputable evidences of their skill in those arts, in croziers, bells, shrines, etc., and in manuscripts, not inferior in splendour to any extant in Europe. It is, indeed, by no means improbable that the severe simplicity, as well as the uniformity of plan and size, which usually characterises these early churches, was less the result of the poverty or ignorance of their founders, than of choice, originating in the spirit of their faith, or in a veneration for some model given to them by their first teachers.”^{lxxii}

The next point of interest is the fact that, although frequently termed *basilica*, “they never present the conched semi-circular absis at the east end.”^{lxxiii} The eastern termination is invariably rectangular : the chancel, or rather the sanctuary (for such it really is), is on plan a square : the altar, always of stone, stands a little in advance of the east wall, along which a stone bench is commonly carried, forming the throne of the presiding bishop, or priest, and of his assistants—an arrangement virtually the same as that of the early roman churches, though treated in a very different manner.

In the centre of the east wall is invariably placed a window. This again is in marked contrast with the latin basilica, the apse of which was never, in early times, pierced by windows. Here again we see the germ of a tradition which has developed in these isles—and here alone—into a feature of special and characteristic magnificence. In the little window-slits which pierce the eastern walls of these humble irish sanctuaries we see the prototype of those glorious windows which adorn the square east-ends of our english chancels, which are peculiar to our traditions, and which are without a parallel in any other portion of Christendom.

^{lxxi} In some instances there are as many as seven churches thus grouped together. Similarly we find at Glastonbury, that there were at one time three churches in such close proximity that they were subsequently united into one. In later times, were seen at Coventry, a cathedral and two of the largest parish churches in the country, all standing within the same garth. St. Margaret's, Westminster, almost in contact with the Abbey, and St. Helen's, under the very shadow of York Minster, illustrate the same tradition.

^{lxxii} “Eccles. Architect. of Ireland,” p. 189.

^{lxxiii} *Ib.*, p. 159.

Among other points in which these early irish churches are distinguished from those erected in Rome, or elsewhere under roman influence, I may refer to the common use of the stone barrel vault for covering in the naves and chancels. Of this there is absolutely no example in Rome itself until the period of the renaissance, and in England flat wooden ceilings prevailed until many centuries later than the erection of these irish churches. Another point, which I may instance, is the sloping jambs of the doorways and windows, which Mr. Petrie states to be the almost invariable custom.^{ooo} This is a form, almost never, met with in the saxon churches of our own country,^{ppp} and entirely foreign to that *mos romanus* to which Bede so frequently refers. Possibly we may attribute this very curious fashion to a tradition of british origin.

Most of these churches, or groups of churches, were monastic, for Ireland, like England, was converted by monks, but these early monasteries were very different from the admirably organised establishments of a few centuries later. The eremitical life was still struggling against the *cænobite*, and it is clear that, in the earliest monastic establishments of Ireland, the abbat, clergy, and monks had each their separate house, or cell, and that such other buildings as were required for the accommodation of strangers, for kitchens, etc., were all distinct edifices standing, with the church, in an enclosure, surrounded by a *cashel*, or circular wall, and forming, rather an eremitical town, than a monastery in the proper sense of the term.^{qqq} Such an arrangement represents clearly a transition from the anachoretic to the community life. Such ecclesiastical towns are common in the Thebaid of Upper Egypt, as elsewhere in the east, and were known among the Egyptians by the name *Laura*.

I will conclude this notice of the only buildings, now extant, from which any knowledge can be derived (and that only by inference) of the churches erected in this country by the native christians prior to the saxon invasion, with the following remarks of Mr. Petrie:—“That there is little in these primitive churches to interest the mind or to attract regard as works of art, it would be childish to deny: yet in their symmetrical simplicity—the dimly-lighted nave, entered by its central west doorway, and terminated on the other side by its chancel arch, affording to the devout worshipper an unimpeded view”—save only during the recitation of the canon of the mass, when, as we have seen, the arch was closed by a veil—“of that brighter sanctuary, in which were celebrated those divine mysteries, which afforded to him consolation in this life, and hope in the next—in the total absence of everything which could distract his attention—there is an expression of fitness to their purpose too often wanting in modern temples of the highest pretensions; as the artless strains sung to the Creator,^{rrr} which, as we may believe, were daily hymned in these unadorned temples, were

^{ooo} *Ib.*, pp. 159-174.

^{ppp} An instance has recently been observed in the north doorway of the church of Escomb, near Bishop Auckland. Attention has, for the first time, been called to this interesting building by Dr. Hooppell, who contributed a paper upon it to the archaeological congress at Yarmouth (1879). This very perfect saxon church, hitherto unknown to archæologists, consists of a nave, forty-three feet by fourteen, and twenty-three feet in height to the wall-plate. From this a tall and narrow chancel arch, five feet three inches in width, and eleven feet from floor to springing, opens into a rectangular sanctuary, ten feet square, and over eighteen feet in height to the plate. There is a south porch, of the same dimensions on plan, and eleven feet in the height of its walls, and in the north wall is the doorway to which I have referred. This is five feet nine inches from floor to head, three feet in width at the top, and about three feet five inches at the threshold. The head is formed of one massive stone, and each jamb of three stones of similar character, two being placed perpendicularly and one between them horizontally. The church is constructed of materials from the neighbouring roman station of Vinovium.

^{qqq} “*Eccles. Architect. of Ireland*,” p. 416.

^{rrr} *The ecclesiastical Plain Song.*

calculated, from their very simplicity, to awaken feelings of deep devotion, which the gorgeous artificial music of the modern cathedral but too rarely excites, even in minds the most predisposed to feel its influence and to appreciate its refinement."

Here our survey of the still extant monuments of christian antiquity, erected prior to the conversion of our own countrymen, may conclude. A few remarks, however, upon the plan of the monastery of St. Gall, to which reference has been more than once made, may, for want of a better opportunity, be inserted in this place.

We have seen in the case of the basilica of St. Lawrence, at Rome, one mode by which, in the middle ages, a primitive basilica was enlarged to meet more modern requirements. In this instance the necessary extension was effected by means of a second *nave* added behind the altar, which, retaining its ancient position, stood now in the midst of the enlarged building, upon the line which separated the old and the new work. The nave of the ancient church thus became, in the new arrangement, the quire, the altar standing now between the nave and the quire. In the plan of St. Gall we shall see an example of an exactly opposite mode of extending the original basilican type.

Conceive the eastern end-wall of an early basilica—that in which the principal entrance was situated—removed, and a complete church of the early medieval type, with transepts and an elongated apsidal presbytery, added to the primitive building: we have then exactly the form of the church shown in this curious plan. At St. Lawrence we see, in fact, a double nave with a single high altar standing betwixt the two: at St. Gall, we find a nave of unusual length, having an apsidal sanctuary at each end of it, and two high altars, one at either extremity of the building.

Of this remarkable project,^{sss} some have attributed the authorship to Gerung, architect to the court of Charles the great: but the terms in which its designer addresses the abbat of St. Gall, in the inscription upon the original parchment, makes this suggestion improbable. "*Hæc tibi, dulcissime fili Gozberte,*" writes the author of the project, "*de positione officinarum paucis exemplata direxi, quibus sollertiam exerceas tuam, meamque devotionem ut-cunque cognoscas, qua tuæ bonæ voluntati satisfacere me segnem non inveniri confido. Ne suspiceris autem me hæc ideo elaborasse, quod vos putemus nostris indigere magisteriis, sed potius ob amorem Dei tibi soli perscrutinanda pinxisse amicabili fraternitatis intuitu crede. Vale in XPO semper memor nostri. Amen.*"

From this address it is evident, first, that the plan is a project for buildings to be erected, and not an illustration of any existing monastery; and secondly, that its author occupied a position of eminence, which permitted him to address the abbat of one of the most famous monastic houses then existing, as his son.^{ttt} It is therefore highly probable, as was suggested by Mabillon, that the design is the work of abbat Eginhardus, who was prefect of the royal buildings under Charles the great, and was well skilled in architecture.^{uuu}

^{sss} My authorities for this account are: (1) the paper contributed by the late professor Willis to the fifth volume of the *Archæological Journal* (1848); and (2) Lenoir's "Architecture Monastique," i. 23-26. The author has in each instance given a fac-simile of the original plan. A copy was published by Mabillon, in the second volume of his "Annals of the Benedictine Order;" and in 1844, Keller, of Zurich, issued a very exact fac-simile very nearly of the size of the original.

^{ttt} Charlemagne himself was a frequent guest at St. Gall's. "*Karolus magnus Imperator,*" says Ekkehardus (Vit. B. Notkeri, c. 29, G., p. 277, quoted by Willis), "*in tantum dilexit locum S. Galli, et ita familiaris erat fratribus, ut eum non aliter nominarent nisi—noster Karolus.*"

^{uuu} Eginhardus had married Imma, the daughter of Charlemagne, but later in life, no doubt upon the death of his wife, he had adopted the monastic profession.

St. Gall was born in Ireland in the middle of the sixth century. He accompanied St. Columbanus into France in 585, and finally established the monastery which ever after bore his name,^{vvv} in a desert spot called Himilinsberg, near the lake of Constance. The rule of St. Benedict was introduced here by St. Othmar, who became its first abbot in 720.

Gozbertus, to whom this plan is addressed, commenced a complete rebuilding of the church and of the monastic buildings at the beginning of the ninth century. He commenced the new basilica in 829, and it was dedicated nine years later.

The plan, which, from its inscription, is evidently a project for a rebuilding, may therefore be attributed with considerable certainty to the first quarter of the ninth century. It has no pretensions to have been laid down to scale, as the proportions of the edifice, as shown thereon, do not tally, with any exactness, with the dimension given in the legends written upon it. It must be considered therefore as a diagram of a suggested arrangement of the church, and of the various monastic buildings, proposed to the abbat Gozbertus, when contemplating the rebuilding of his house, by one in high position, who is anxious, as his letter shows, that his friendly suggestions should not be taken as commands.

The plan itself, which is drawn upon a large sheet of parchment, shows not only the church, but all the buildings necessary to a complete benedictine establishment; which was, in one point of view, a great co-operative farm, worked in common by a body of monks and lay-brothers (*fratres conversi*), who all shared equally in the produce; all being provided alike, from the proceeds, with shelter, food, and clothing, while none could amass any private property, the increment, if any, belonging to the community as a whole.^{www} We find, therefore, beside the church, the cloisters, the conventual offices, the abbat's house, the infirmary, the guest-house, the schools, etc., granaries, factories, cow-bires, stables, a hen-house, a yard for geese, folds for sheep and goats, and gardens in which are indicated the position of the various fruit-trees then cultivated, and even of the herbs and vegetables. We are only concerned, however, with the church itself, and accordingly the plan which I give is confined to this and to the adjacent cloister, and its surroundings.^{xxx}

The church resembles that of which the foundations have been discovered at Lyminge, near Folkestone, and the early cathedral church of Canterbury, as described by Eadmer, in having an apse at each extremity. It differs from these in having towards, what was no doubt intended to be, its eastern extremity, a transept. In advance of the eastern apse is the quire of the monks, in front of the western one is a smaller quire, in its proportions somewhat basilican. As at Canterbury there is a *confessio*, or crypt, beneath the eastern sanctuary. Above it, upon an ascent of seven steps, is the high altar dedicated, as the legend upon it states, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and of the patron St. Gall, whose relics were designed to rest in the crypt below. This crypt is approached by a descending passage at each side of the

^{vvv} Until its suppression in 1808. Its library and buildings still exist.

^{www} This, the essential notion of a benedictine house, is at the present day best exemplified by the Cistercian brothers. The establishment of this order upon Charnwood Forest, in Leicestershire, has converted, in recent years, a great stony waste into a richly productive farm. There is an interesting account, given in the life of the unfortunate Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, of the similar work doing by the monks of the same order in french Algeria. The lay-brothers, or *fratres conversi*, are under the same essential vows (of poverty, chastity, and obedience) as the cloistered monks, but they are not bound to the choral recitations of the offices, so that their farm-labour is less interrupted than is, necessarily, the case with the monks themselves: all, however, share equally, with this exception, in the ordinary manual labour of their great farming establishments.

^{xxx} It is taken, with a few trifling corrections, from professor Willis' rendering of the original in a form more intelligible, than this is, to modern eyes.

presbytery, and has also another entrance in the middle of the flight of steps leading up to the high altar. Its distribution is, so far, very similar to that of the ancient vatican basilica, to that, described by Eadmer, at Canterbury, and to that of which the indications may still be seen at Brixworth. Eastward of the high altar was a second, of which the dedication is indicated by the legend, "*Hic Pauli dignos magni celebramus honores.*" The western apse contained a second high altar, just as may be seen at the present day in the cathedrals of Mayence and of Naumburg. This was to be dedicated in honour of the Prince of the Apostles "*Hic Petrus ecclesiæ pastor sortitur honorem.*" Midmost of the length of the nave is the rood-loft, or *pulpitum*, under which is the altar of the Holy Cross, or rather of the crucified Saviour, *Altare s'ci salvatoris ad crucem.* It bears the legend, "*Crux, via, vita, salus, misericordie redemptio mundi.*"

Westward of the *jubé* is shown the altar of Sts. John the evangelist and John the baptist, so placed evidently with a respect to the font, which stands a little further west, also in the centre of the nave. The transepts, are enclosed by screens, and have altars placed against their eastern walls. That in the north transept is dedicated to Sts. Philip and James, that in the south to St. Andrew. Along the central line of each aisle, and ranging with the alternate pillars, are other altars, whose dedication is indicated upon the plan which I give.

The church is thus planned to contain no less than fifteen altars, beside those that, no doubt, occupied the crypt, and two others which are placed upon the summit of the towers.

In the quire of the monks may be observed, beneath the crossing bay, benches, for the singers, *formulæ psallentium*, who here stood facing, no doubt, toward the high altar, as did the "rulers of the choir" once at Salisbury, and as they still do in France and elsewhere. Immediately westward of the crossing is a transverse screen with a central opening, upon which are indicated two desks, such, no doubt, as still exist in the basilica of Sts. Nereus and Achilles, of which I have already given an illustration. These were to serve for the reading of the lections in the night offices: "*Analogia duo ad legendum in nocte,*" say the legend upon them. The side-screens of the choir are continued for a distance of rather more than one bay westward into the nave, where they are connected by a second transverse screen having two doorways. In the space thus inclosed stands a circular pulpit for the reading of the gospel at the high mass, as is testified by its title: "*Hic evangelicæ recitatur lectio pacis.*" The smaller western (or basilican) choir contains no indication of its fittings.

Each of the apses (termed in the inscriptions *exedra*) is surrounded internally by a bench no doubt of stone, but there is no indication, in either, of the episcopal throne (*cathedra*) commonly to be found in the centre of such tribunes. The fact of the church being monastic and not cathedral, may account for this omission.

To the north of the eastern apse is the library, in two stories, "*infra sedes scribentium, supra bibliotheca.*" In a corresponding position on the south side is the sacristy, "*subtus sacratorium, supra vestium ecclesiæ repositio.*" ⁷⁷⁷

Externally there is attached to the western apse a semi-circular cloister, termed upon the plan *Paradisus*. Upon its covered colonnade is the following legend:—

*"Hic muro tectum impositum patet atque columnis,
Has interque pedes denos moderare columnas."*

In the open space thus enclosed is written:—

"Hic paradisiacum sine tecto sternito campum."

⁷⁷⁷ A similar arrangement prevailed in the basilica of St. Felix at Nola, see *infra* p. 81.

A similar *paradise*, but without a cloister, is shown about the eastern apse also. It bears the legend :—

"Hic sine domatibus paradisi plana parantur."

These enclosures form a very curious feature of the plan. I strongly suspect that these *paradisi* were suggested by the original arrangement of the church of the Holy Sepulchre as erected by Constantine. Beyond the apse of this latter church was formed an area "of great extent and open to the pure air of heaven. This was adorned with a pavement of polished stone, and enclosed on three sides by porticos of great length," *μάκροισι περιδρομοῖς στοῶν ἐν τριπλείῳ*,^{zzz} where the existing form of the rock appears to indicate, not a quadrangular, but a semi-circular colonnade. In the centre of this open space was the rock-hewn sepulchre "standing out erect and alone upon a level plot," as Eusebius describes it. We have only to give to the *paradisiacus campus* of St. Gall the "great extent" of Eusebius' description to have a fairly exact representation of the arrangement of this highly venerated sanctuary.^{aaaa}

On the two sides of the western semi-circular *paradise* are indicated two towers, the access to which is by short passages from the atrium. These, as in most of the ancient basilicas of Italy, stand detached from the church, but, singularly enough, they are shown as circular on plan, a form of tower common enough in Ireland, but most rare elsewhere. Can we venture to attribute this peculiarity to the tradition of the native land of the patron saint and founder of the house? Each is designed to have upon its summit an altar dedicated, respectively, in honour of the archangels St. Michael and St. Gabriel. Abnormal as these towers are in plan and in position, yet in the fact of there being two of them, and these placed, in a manner, flanking the western termination of the church, we may see, perhaps, a tendency toward that type of the western façade which is common in all the great minsters of later ages.

This plan is most interesting as exhibiting the transition between the basilica of early times and the great monastic churches of the medieval period. The details of its arrangements are so minutely indicated and in many instances so remarkable, its general distribution throws so much light, not only on that reversal of the normal primitive orientation, of which every ancient english church now existing is an example, but also upon the plan of the first in date of our english cathedral churches, that the notice I have given of it here needs, as I think, no apology:

With it our review of early christian monuments may well conclude, as with it that of the medieval churches may be said to commence.

^{zzz} Eusebius, "Life of Constantine," iii., c. 35.

^{aaaa} When we remember the fascination with which men were attracted to the sepulchre of the Lord, through all the earlier ages of christianity, during the so-called dark ages, and throughout the medieval period : when we recall the constant stream of pilgrims which it drew toward it, and the great historical events which the desire to free it from the hands of the infidel,—the one grand motive of all the crusades,—brought about, we need not be surprised to find that the church, which adorned and enclosed it, has had, in all the ages, a distinct influence upon the ecclesiology of christendom. The sentiment still lives, and still attracts christians to this monument of the great fact, with the truth of which christianity must stand or fall. A french writer has, in our day, given expression to this irresistible fascination in the following eloquent words :—"Whether for the philosopher, for the naturalist, or for the historian, this tomb is the boundary which separates two worlds, the ancient and the modern : it is the point of departure of an idea which has renewed the universe, of a civilization which has transformed everything, of a word which has resounded over the whole world. This tomb is the sepulchre of the old world, and the cradle of the new : no stone of this world was ever the foundation of so vast an edifice, never was there a tomb so prolific. No doctrine, entombed for three days or for three ages, has ever broken so grandly and victoriously the rock, on which man had put his seal, or proved the impotency of death by so splendid and incontrovertible a resurrection."—*Lamartine, "Travels in the Holy Land."*

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE BASILICA OF ST. FELIX AT NOLA,

*Built by St. Paulinus of Nola, circa an. 400.*FROM THE XIITH EPISTLE OF ST. PAULINUS TO SEVERUS

(Born 352, Died 431).

TRANSLATED, WITH A FEW BRIEF NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS,

BY R. C. J.

BASILICA igitur illa, quae ad Dominaedium nostrum communem patronum in nomine Domini Christi jam dedicata celebratur, quatuor ejus basilicis addita,^a reliquiis Apostolorum et Martyrum intra apsidem trichora^b sub altaria sacratis, non solo B. Felicis honore venerabilis est. Apsidem solo et parietibus marmoratam camera musivo^c illusa clarificat, cujus picturae hi versus sunt :—

“ Pleno coruscat Trinitas mysterio ;
 Stat Christus Agno : vox Patris coelo tonat
 Et per columbam Spiritus sanctus fluit.
 Crucem corona lucido cingit globo
 Cui coronae sunt corona Apostoli.
 Quorum figura est in columbarum choro.
 Pia Trinitatis Unitas Christo coit,
 Habente et ipsâ Trinitate insignia,
 Deum revelat vox paterna et Spiritus,
 Sanctam fatentur Crux et Agnus Victimam.
 Regnum et triumphum purpura et palma indicant.
 Petram superstat ipse petra Ecclesiae,
 De qua sonori quatuor fontes meant,
 Evangelistae viva Christi flumina.”

^a The four basilicae here referred to must include several in other places, including that at Fondi, founded by Paulinus himself.

^b On the word *trichora*, Rhosweyd has a long and learned note ; but after many references to other passages he concludes that its meaning is best cleared up by this place of Paulinus itself. It seems to mean a place having three chambers or recesses, and here in connection with *altaria* would indicate that there were three altars in the greater apse, each in a recess or *conchula* of its own. Of these the centre one must have been the high altar, that of St. Felix being on the one side, and probably that of St. Melana, with the relics of the holy cross on the other. It is also quite possible that the *trichora altaria* stood in three separate apses opening out of the western side of a transept.

^c *Musivo illudere* (observes the same learned Jesuit) is equivalent to *musivo depingere*, “to paint in mosaic.” There is constant mention of such work in the lives of the Popes by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and it seems to have been a favourite art with them in almost every age.

Inferiore autem balteo, quo parietis et camerae confinium interposita gypso crepido^d conjungit aut dividit, hic titulus indicat deposita sub altari sancta sanctorum :—

“ Hic pietas, hic alma fides, hic gloria Christi
Hic est Martyribus Crux sociata suis.
Nam crucis è ligno magnum brevis astula pignus,
Totaque in exiguo segmine vis crucis est.
Hoc Melanae sanctae delatum munere Nolam
Summum Jerosolymae venit ab urbe bonum.
Sancta Deo geminum velant altaria honorem,
Cum cruce Apostolicos quae sociant cineres.
Quàm benè jungantur ligno crucis ossa piorum,
Pro cruce ut occisis in cruce sit requies ! ”

Totum vero extra concham^e basilicae spatium, alto et lacunato culmine, geminis utrimque porticibus^f dilatatur, quibus duplex per singulos arcus columnarum ordo dirigitur. Cubicula intra porticus quaterna longis basilicae lateribus inserta, secretis orantium vel in lege Domini meditantium, praeterea memoriis^g religiosorum ac familiarium, accommodatos ad pacis aeternae requiem locos praebent. Omne cubiculum binis per liminum frontes versibus praenotatur, quos inserere his literis nolui : eos tamen quos ipsius basilicae aditus habent scripsi ; quia possent si usurpare velis, et ad tuarum basilicarum januas convenire ut istud est :—

“ Pax tibi sit quicumque Dei penetralia Christi
Pectore pacifico candidus ingrederis.”

Vel hoc, de signo Domini super ingressum picto, hac specie quâ versus indicat :—

“ Cerne coronatam Domini super atria Christi
Stare crucem, duro spondentem celsa labori
Praemia : tolle crucem qui vis auferre coronam.”

Alteri autem basilicae, quâ de hortulo vel pomœrio quasi privatus aperitur ingressus, hi versiculi hanc secretiorem forem pandunt :—

“ Coelestes intrate vias per amoena vireta,
Christicolae—et laetis decet huc ingressus ab hortis,
Unde sacrum meritis datur exitus in Paradisum.”

^d *Crepidines* are found mentioned in Vitruvius, b. iv., c. vi. : “ Dextrâ ac sinistrâ projecturae sic sunt faciendae uti crepidines excurrant et in ungue ipsa cymatia jungantur.” John de Laet, who has corrected here the learned Baldus (in his *Lexicon Vitruv.*), considers a *crepido* to mean any projection or member either at the top of a building or elsewhere—a kind of prominent moulding. The word *excurrant* describes the *continuous* moulding which returns at the *unguis*, or corner of the wall. Here the *crepido* of fine plaster seems to have run along the upper part of the wall throughout the apse. Hence the *conjungit aut dividit*, for it gave at once continuity and distinction by the angle it formed with the wall.

^e Note the contrast between the *camera*, or vaulted semi-dome of the apse, and the *lacunatum culmen*, or flat coffered ceiling, of the body of the building.

^f *Porticus*, I think, must be here taken rather in its medieval sense as aisle or cloister, than in its ancient sense as *porch*, though St. Isidore of Seville defines it in the latter meaning as late as the seventh century (*Origin.*, b. xv., c. vii.). Paulinus, in his ninth *Natalis* (the passage itself is given below), speaks of the *cubicula*, or cells in the nave of his church, as *impositas longis porticibus*, and almost everywhere his meaning seems to be aisles separated by ranges of columns.

^g *Memoria* is used especially of the place, commonly beneath an altar, in which relics are deposited. Cf. infra “ *memoriam ejus aspiciens*.” Also Augustine, “ *De Civ. Dei*,” xxii. 8.

Hoc idem ostiolum aliis versibus ab interiore suâ fronte signatur :—

“Quisquis ab aede Dei perfectis ordine votis
Egrederis, remea corpore, corde mane.”

Prospectus vero basilicae,^h non ut usitatio mos est, ad Orientem spectat, sed ad Domini mei Beati Felicis basilicam pertinet, memoriam ejus aspiciens:ⁱ tamen cum duabus dextrâ laevâque conchulis^j intra spatiosum sui ambitum apsis sinuata laxetur, una earum immolanti hostias jubilationis antistiti patet, altera post sacerdotem capaci sinu receptat orantes.^k Laetissimo vero conspectu tota simul haec basilica in basilica memorati confessoris aperitur trinis arcibus paribus perlucante transennâ^l per quam vicissim sibi tecta ac spatia basilicae utriusque junguntur. Nam quia novam a veteri paries (apside cujusdam monumenti interpositâ)^m obstructus excluderet, totidem januis patefactis a latere confessorisⁿ quot a fronte ingressus sui foribus, nova reserabatur, et quasi diatritam speciem^o ab utrâque in utramque spectantibus praebet, sicut datis inter utrasque januas titulis indicatur. Itaque in ipsis basilicae novae ingressibus hi versiculi sunt :—

“Alma domus triplici patet ingredientibus arcu,
Testaturque piam janua trina fidem.”

Item dextrâ laevâque crucibus minio superpictis haec epigrammata sunt :—

“Ardua floriferae crux cingitur orbe coronae
Et Domini fuso tincta cruore rubet.
Quaeque super signum resident caeleste columbae
Simplicibus produnt regna patere Dei.”

Item de eodem :—

“Hâc cruce nos mundo et nobis interfice mundum
Interitu culpa vivificans animam.
Nos quoque perficies placitas tibi Christe columbas
Si vigeat puris pars tua pectoribus.”

^h *Prospectus basilicae* would appear to refer to the position of the principal entrances, the façade of the building.

ⁱ This indicates the position—lateral or transverse—which the new basilica occupied in relation to the original building.

^j *Concha* is equivalent to an apse, *Conchula* a small apse or circular recess within an apse. (See Rhosweyd on this place.)

^k It would seem from this description as though the new building ended in a double apse, for two apses within a larger one would hardly be sufficiently spacious to satisfy this description, and there is no allusion to a third apse, as in the former case. Yet the description of these recesses as *conchulae* within a single apse seems to point in the other direction. Altogether this is one of the obscurest places in Paulinus' description.

^l *Transenna* Rhosweyd defines as *cancellatum aliquod opus*. It represents here a kind of open cloister, lighted apparently from the roof and connecting the two buildings in the same manner in which a cathedral cloister might connect the actual church with some dependent building. Here it must have been extremely short, joining the two basilicae so closely that through it there was a vista from both the edifices. It was also, unlike the *transenna* of the basilica of Trieste, triple.

^m This tomb must have been one of those *cubacula* in the sides of the nave (or, possibly, of a transept), described above. It would thus tend to fix the point at which the second church was connected with the former one.

ⁿ *I.e.*, at the side of the altar of St. Felix, which would concur with the previous view.

^o *Diatritam speciem* is a very unusual term, almost a *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*. The word *diatrita* is used in its Greek form in a medical sense, but here it must be translated in subordination to the word *species*, which is used in the sense in which Vitruvius so often employs it, meaning an aspect or scope of vision. Thus he says of the sun, “si tantis intervallis nostra species potest id animadvertere” (b. ix., c. iv.). The *diatrita species* might be perhaps translated here, “a perfect vista through the three arcades.”

Intra ipsam vero transennam (quâ breve illud, quod propinquas sibi basilicas potius discludat, intervallum continuatur) è regione basilicae novae super medianum arcum hi versus sunt :—

“Ut medium valli pax nostra resolvit Jesus
Et cruce dissidium perimens duo fecit in unum :
Sic nova, destructo veteris discrimine tecti,
Culmina conspiciamus portarum foedere jungi.”
* * * * *

Haec vero binis notata versiculis epigrammata super arcus alios dextra laevaue sunt : In uno hoc :—

“Attonitis nova lux oculis aperitur et uno
Limine consistens geminas simul aspicit aulas.”

In altero hoc :—

“Ter geminis geminae patuerunt arcubus aulae
Miranturque suos per mutua lumina cultus.”

Item in iisdem arcubus a fronte quae ad basilicam domini Felicis patet, mediana hi sunt :—

“Quos devota fides densis celebrare beatum
Felicem populis diverso suadet ab ore,
Per triplices aditus laxos infundite coetus.
Atria quamlibet innumeris spatiosa patebunt,
Quae sociata sibi per apertos comminus arcus
Paulus in aeternos antistes dedicat usus.”
* * * * *

In secretariis^p verò duobus quae supra dixi circa apsidem esse, hi versus indicant officia singulorum. A dextrâ apsidis :—

“Hic locus est veneranda penus quâ conditur et quâ
Promitur alma sacri pompa ministerii.”

A sinistrâ ejusdem :—

“Si quem sancta tenet meditanda in lege voluntas,
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris.”^q

TRANSLATION.

That Basilica already well known as dedicated to our common patron Dominædius (St. Felix) in the name of the Lord Christ, which forms an addition to his four basilicas, is venerable not only from its dedication to St. Felix, but also for the relics of apostles and

^p The *secretarium* may be a secret place of any kind, from a council-chamber to a chest or closet. Here it must have more of the latter sense, as it relates to the keeping of the sacred vestments and furniture of public worship. It is in fact the sacristy. The sacristan is not infrequently spoken of as *secretarius*.

^q The arrangement is the same in the plan of the monastic church of St. Gall (of the ninth century). To the south of the apse is indicated a building of two stories, “*subtus sacratorium—supra vestium ecclesiae repositio*.” To the north is a building which, in its plan and dimensions, corresponds exactly with the sacristy, and which is described upon the plan as “*infra sedes scribentium—supra bibliotheca*.”

martyrs deposited under the threefold altars within its apse. This apse has its floor and walls of marble, and is adorned with a vault decorated in mosaic work, the design of which is described in these verses :—

“ The Trinity in fullest mystery shines ;
 Christ is the Lamb, the Father's voice resounds
 From heaven, and through the dove the Spirit breathes.
 The cross is seen with dazzling circlet girt :
 The Apostles form its crown, a nimbus bright,
 Like choir of doves, around the cross displayed.
 The sacred Persons meet as one in Christ.
 The Trinity, in symbols clear, is there.
 The Father's voice, the Spirit's form reveal
 A present God ; the Cross and Lamb confess
 The holy Victim ; palm and purple prove
 The kingdom and the glory—Christ, the rock
 Of all the church, the base of rock sustains,
 From which, as living streams, four fountains flow—
 The four Evangelists whose words are gone
 Through every land.”

Upon a frieze below, where a moulded cornice of fine plaster is interposed, at once uniting and distinguishing the wall of the apse and its vault, the following motto indicates the holy relics deposited beneath the altar :—

“ Here piety, here genial faith repose,
 Here Christ's true glory, here the Cross is joined
 With its own martyrs ; for a relic here
 Of the blest cross, becomes the pledge of life :
 Its secret power this slenderest fragment proves.
 By holy Melana to Nola given
 The precious gift from Salem's city came.
 The hallowed shrines a twofold glory veil,
 And join the saintly relics with the cross.
 Well with its precious wood may we combine
 The bones of those who for the cross were slain,
 Which meetly find in that loved cross their rest ! ”

The whole area of the basilica beyond the apse has a lofty and coffered ceiling, and spreads out in double aisles on either side, along which a double range of columns is carried on through each arcade. Opening into each of the aisles recessed chambers, four in number, are inserted in the long side-walls of the basilica, places adapted both for the retirement of those engaged in prayer or meditation, and also devoted to the memory of the religious and of their friends^r who here rest in eternal peace. Each of these chapels is illustrated by two verses placed over its entrance, which I was unwilling to insert in this letter. Those, however, which the approaches to the basilica itself exhibit, I have written down, as they might, if you wish to adopt them, be suitable to the entrances of your own basilica. They are as follows :—

“ Peace be to thee, with peaceful heart and pure
 Who comest within the secret place of Christ.”

^r The *Familiares* of a monastic house were lay persons, living in the world, who were associated with the community in good works, and who shared in the prayers of the monastic family. In some orders such persons were termed *oblates*. Cf. Ducange *sub voce*. The argument of one of the Epistles of Paulinus (VII. Ad. Severum) runs thus :—*Describit eleganter dissolutorum hominum mores et monachorum, et docet quales convenient monachis familiares.*

And these, which refer to the sign of the Lord painted over the entrance, in the form which the verses indicate :—

“Lo ! on the courts of Christ the crownèd cross,
 Promise of high reward to conquering toil :
 Take but the cross away, the crown is lost !”

To the other basilica, to which a kind of private access is gained through the garden or orchard, these verses open the secret entrance :—

“Children of Christ, the heavenly path is traced
 Through gardens fair—through these ye enter in
 To those blest courts whose exit leads the just
 Into the fairer realm of Paradise.”

This same small doorway upon its inner front is illustrated by these lines :—

“Whoe’er, with vows performed, from God’s own house
 Comest forth, in body leave, in heart remain !”

The façade of this basilica does not (as is the more usual plan) front towards the east, but adjoins the basilica of my lord St. Felix, and faces toward the confessional crypt of the saint. Its apse is complex, being relieved in its spacious circuit by two circular recesses, on the right hand and on the left. Toward one of these the prelate, when engaged in offering the sacrifice of praise, faces ; the other, which is behind the priest, affords space in its ample circuit for the worshippers. The whole of this basilica lies entirely open, with a most pleasing aspect, to the basilica of the aforesaid confessor, by means of three equal arches, an open cloister intervening, by which the roofs and the area of the two basilicæ are united together. For whereas (at first) the obstruction of a wall shut off the new basilica from the old (the apse of a certain monument intervening), the new building was (afterwards) disclosed by the opening out of as many gates, on the side of the confessor’s altar, as there were doors to give access to it, in the front of the building. And thus a perfect vista through the three openings is given to the eyes of those looking from the one to the other. Hence in the accesses to the new basilica there are these lines :—

“With threefold arch to those who enter in
 The sacred house expands its triple gate,
 Bearing true witness to the tri-une faith.”

On the right and left, under crosses painted over them in vermilion, are these mottoes :—

“The bitter cross is bound with floral crown,
 And blushes with the blood of Christ the Lord.
 The doves which on the heavenly symbol rest,
 Proclaim God’s kingdom to the meek in heart.”

Also on the same :—

“O ! slay us to the world, the world to us ;
 Through death of sin restore the soul to life.
 Make us, O Christ ! as gentlest doves to be,
 That we may all be pure in heart like Thee !”

Within the open cloister, by which the short interval which separates the adjoining basilicas is connected, on the side of the new basilica over its middle arch, are these verses :—

“Jesus, our peace, destroys the middle wall ;
 And with His cross hath slain the enmity,
 Making both one : thus buildings now we see
 Joined, as in compact, by their opening gates
 To older pile—the severing wall removed.”

These mottoes, marked in two lines, are over the other arches to the right and left. On the one :—

“New light is to the wondering eye revealed :
Upon one threshold standing you behold
Two churches seen as one.”

On the other :—

“Two sacred courts by two fair triplets joined ;
Witness their rites, through mutual thresholds seen.”

Also on the same arches in the front which opens upon the basilica of Felix, these lines are over the central one :—

“Ye whom devotion bids with varied tongue
To join the throng which Felix celebrates,
Through triple gate pour in your loosened ranks ;
For countless worshippers these spacious halls
Are raised, which now by open cloister joined
Paul for unceasing worship dedicates.”
* * * * *

In the two secret receptacles which I have already described as around the apse, are these verses indicating the object of each of them. On the right of the apse :—

“Here is laid up, and hence is brought the pomp
Of holy ministry and rites divine.”

On the left of the apse :—

“If any heart the holy wish inspire
Upon the law of God to meditate,
Here may he rest and here his wish fulfil.”

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

THE description of the older basilica, which is first spoken of in this letter, represents it as bearing an obvious similitude to the greater Roman basilicas, as that of the Lateran, Sta. Maria Maggiore, St. Paul, and other well-known churches. A long and very broad nave with double aisles on either side divided by rows of columns, most probably of the Corinthian order (if not of some composite and more debased character), supporting a system of arcades, having a flat coffered ceiling *lacunatum culmen*, and terminated by an apse of sufficiently large proportions to include three inner apses spacious enough to be used as oratories—presents to the mind a picture which it is easy to realise, and might well suggest a theme to the pencil of the architect. Little here even in the details of the building is left for the imagination to fill in, and the description of the symbolical paintings which form the subject of Paulinus' not very classical, though not altogether inelegant, verses might well enable any artist to reproduce these interesting memorials of early Christian art. It is from the connection of the second building with the first, that the chief difficulty arises, and from the effort to realise the relation of the two buildings and the manner in which they were so united as to become almost a single pile.

The writer of these lines has often attempted to sketch out a ground-plan of the two buildings, but without satisfying himself fully on the subject. In order to make an approach to the solution of the difficulty we must bear in mind :—

1. That the second church had an entirely different aspect from the first, and therefore could not be parallel with it.
2. That it could not join it at the eastern end, as the point of junction is distinctly indicated to be at opposite to the altar of St. Felix in the apse, and to have been contrived by the removal of a monument, which must have been one of the *cubicula* described as inserted in the wall of the nave, or possibly in the end of a transept.
3. That the union was by means of an open cloister, here called a *transenna*, and qualified by the term *perlucense*. This would more probably be on the south than on the north side.

FIG. I.

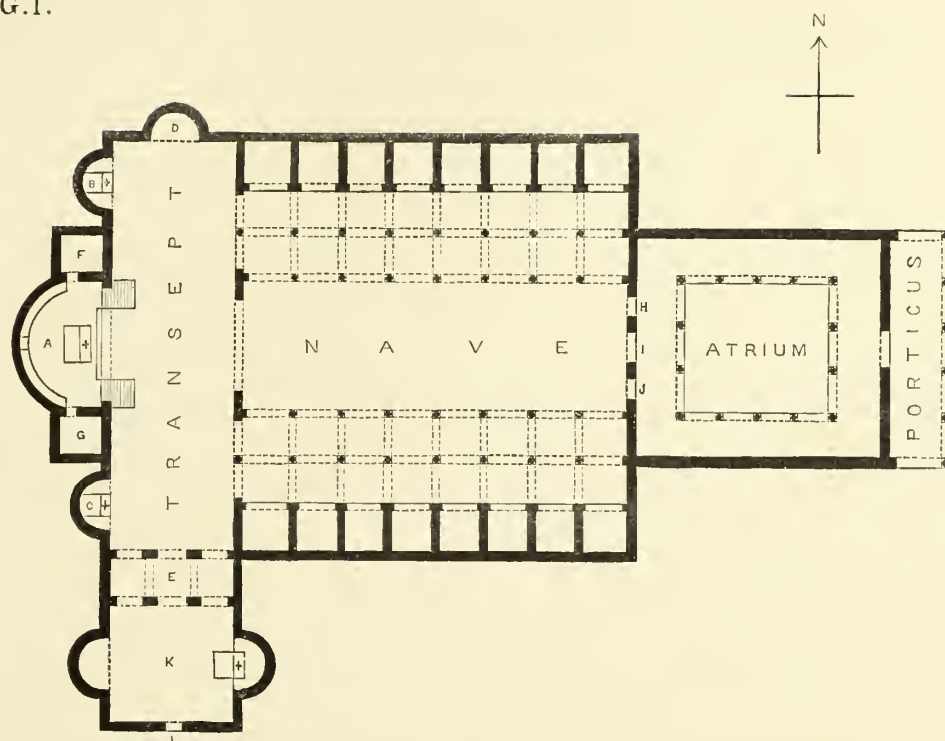


FIG. II.

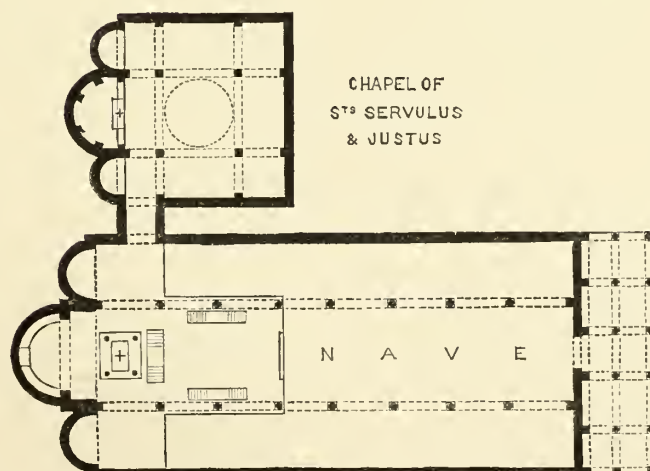


FIG. I. CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF THE GROUND-PLAN OF THE BASILICA OF NOLA.

FIG. II. PLAN OF THE BASILICA OF TRIESTE.

4. That the apse and altar of the new church must have been in the direction of that of the earlier one in order to look towards the altar (or "memory") of the confessor, and hence as this was most probably on the "gospel side" of the high altar, the new church must have stood S.E. and N.W., the cloister (or *transenna*) having a transverse direction.

[I have ventured, with much diffidence, and only at the bidding of the learned Canon (whose wish, under the circumstances, is, for me, a command), to draw out a conjectural plan of the two basilicas, as I understand St. Paulinus' description. It will be seen from this plan that I differ a little from the conclusions which the Canon has arrived at in regard to the relative positions of the two churches.

1. I conceive the second basilica to have had a different *prospectus* from the larger one, only because its principal approach—viz., from the great basilica,—was a lateral one.

2. Since it is, not the altar but, the façade of entrance (*prospectus*) which is stated to have fronted toward the *confessio* of St. Felix, and since I judge these entrances to have been lateral ones (as in the case of the smaller basilica, dedicated in honour of Sts. Justus and Servulus at Trieste), I am led to the conclusion that the two buildings were parallel to each other; and that while in the larger church the high altar—as was usual in early times—stood toward the western extremity of the building, and the celebrant, facing eastward, fronted toward the nave, in the smaller one, on the contrary, the altar was placed in the more modern manner, in the eastern apse, and the priest—here, as always, facing eastward—had the congregation (*orantes*) behind him (*post sacerdotem*). This conjecture may afford a hint of an additional reason why the principal entrances of this smaller basilica were arranged facing, *non, ut usitatio est mos ad orientem*, but laterally. By this reversed direction of the high altars in the two churches each altar was, through the *transenna*, in view of the other.

In my sketch-plan, A is the high altar, with the confessional crypt of St. Felix below it; A, B, and C together are the *trichora altaria* of the text. I have introduced a transept, for reasons which I have already mentioned (p. 62); at the north end of the transept I have shown, at D, an *apsis cujusdam monumenti* corresponding to the one which was removed in order to open a communication by means of the triple transenna, E, with the smaller basilica upon the opposite side of the church. F and G are the two *secretaria* described as placed *circa apsidem*, the one being the sacristy, the other the library. The nave has double aisles, and beyond these is, on either side, the range of *cubicula* or side-chapels. H, I, and J are the three great doorways of the eastern end of the basilica. These appear to have opened upon a cloistered atrium, spoken of in the succeeding extract from the same author's, *Natalis IX.*, as *vestibulum*, beyond which was an outer portico or narthex. The whole area, or *peripatos*, in which were situated these two conjoined basilicas—together with a third church, referred to in the passage from the *Natalis X.*, which is given below—was enclosed by a vast colonnade, *circumjectis porticibus*, the nature of which is not very clear. It is evident, however, that we have here an exact parallel to the great basilica at Tyre, to which I have fully referred above (p. 16). We see there, as here, the "outer enclosure" with its wall; "secondly, the large and lofty entrance vestibule, extended toward the rays of the rising sun;" and thirdly, the "quadrangular atrium, with pillars rising on every side," which opened upon the eastern termination of the nave. The outer enclosure my plan does not attempt to show, as its description is, as I have said, obscure.

The transenna, E, opens into the smaller basilica K, affording the *latissimus conspectus*, spoken of in the text, from the one church into the other. At L, is the *ostium* M, by which, into the smaller basilica, *de hortulo vel pomærio quasi privatus aperitur ingressus*.—G. G. S.]

The following passages from other writings of St. Paulinus of Nola refer to the same basilica of St. Felix, and to its architectural features and arrangement:—

FROM THE "NATALIS NONUS" * OF ST. PAULINUS OF NOLA.

Narthex. Ergo veni pater et socio mihi jungere passu,
Dum te circumagens operum per singula duco.
Ecce vides istam quâ janua prima receptat
Porticus obscuro fuerat prius obruta tecto,
Nunc eadem nova pigmentis et culmine crevit.

* *De Adventu Nicetæ Episcopi e Dacia, qui ad natalem Dni. Felicis occurrerat.*

Cloistered Atrium.	Ast ubi conseptum quadrato tegmine circa Vestibulum medio reseratur in aethera campo, Hortulus antè fuit male casto cespite, rarum Area vilis olus nullos praebebat ad usus. Intereà nobis amor incidit, hoc opus isti Aedificare loco : namque hunc deposcere cultum
Confessionary Crypt.	Ipsa videbatur, venerandam ut Martyris aulam Eminùs adversâ foribus de fronte reclusis, Laetior illustraret honos ; et aperta per arcus Lucida frons bifores perfunderet intima largo Lumine, conspicui ad faciem conversa sepulcri Quo tegitur positus sopitus corpore Martyr. Qui sua fulgentis solii pro limine Felix
Nave.	Atria bis gemino patefactis lumine valvis Spectat ovans, gaudetque piis sua moenia vinci Coetibus, atque amplas populis rumpentibus aulas Laxari densas numerosa per ostia turbas. Ipsaque, quà tumulus sacrati Martyris extat, Aula novos habitus, senio purgata, resumpsit. Trina manus variis operata decoribus illam Excoluit : bijugi laqueari et marmore fabri Picta imaginibus divina ferentibus ora. Ecce vides quantus splendor, velut aede renatâ, Rideat insculptum camerâ crispante lacunar. In ligno mentitur ebur, tectoque supernè Pendentes lychni spiris retinentur ahenis, Et medio in vacuo laxis vaga lumina nutant Funibus : undantes flammæ levis aura fatigat. Quaeque priùs pilis stetit, haec modo fulta columnis Vilia mutato spreuit cæmenta metallo.
Confessionary Crypt.	Sed rursus redeamus in atria, conspice rursus Impositas longis duplicato tegmine cellas Porticibus, metanda bonis habitacula dignè Quos huc ad sancti justum Felicis honorem Duxerit orandi studium, non cura bibendi. Nam quasi contignata sacris cœnacula tectis Spectant de superis altaria tota fenestris, Sub quibus intus habent Sanctorum corpora sedem. Namque et Apostolici cineres sub coelito mensa Depositi, placidum Christo spirantis odorem Pulveris inter sancta sacri libamina reddunt.
Nave. Aspice nunc aliud latus ; ut sit porticus una
Side-Chapels.	Et paries mediis spatibus bipatente columnis, Culmine discretas aditu sibi copulat aulas.

* * * * *

FROM THE "NATALIS DECIMUS."

Atrium.	Istic porticibus late circumdata longis Vestibula impluvio tectis reserantur aperto, Et simul astra oculis, ingressibus atria pandunt. Illic adjunctae sociantur moenibus aulae Diffusoque sinu simul et coëunte patentes Aemula consortis jungunt fastigia tignis, Et paribus variae et speciosae cultibus extant Marmore, picturâ, laquearibus atque columnis.
---------	---

Inter quae et modicis variatur gratia cellis,
 Quas in porticibus (quà longius una coactum
 Porticus in spatium tractu protenditur uno)
 Appositas lateri tria cominùs ora recludunt,
 Trinaque cancellis currentibus ostia pandunt.

* * * * *

Temenos.

Basilicis haec juncta tribus, patet area cunctis
 Diversosque aditus ex uno pandit ad omnes,
 Atque itidem gremio diversos excipit uno
 A tribus egressos, medio spatiosa pavito.
 Quod tamen ordinibus structis per quinque nitentum
 Agmina concharum, series densata coacto
 Marmore, mira oculis aperit spatiantibus arte.
 Sed circumjectis in porticibus spatiari
 Copia larga subest, interpositisque columnas
 Cancellis fessos incumbere.

M. VITRUVIUS POLLIO :

HIS REMARKS UPON THE SECULAR ROMAN BASILICA.

Marci Vitruvii Pollionis de architectura libri decem. Lib. v., cap. 1, De foro basilicisque.

BASILICARUM loca adiuncta Foris quam calidissimis partibus oportet constitui, ut per hiemem sine molestia tempestatum se conferre in eas negotiatores possint; earumque latitudines ne minus quam ex tertia, ne plus quam ex dimidia longitudinis [parte] constituentur, nisi loci natura impedierit, et aliter coegerit symmetriam commutari. Sin autem locus erit amplior in longitudine, chalcidica in extremis partibus constituentur, uti sunt in Julia Aquiliana.

Columnae basilicarum tam altae, quam porticus latae fuerint, faciendae videntur: porticus quam medium spatium est ex tertia finiatur. Columnae superiores minores quam inferiores, uti supra scriptum est, constituentur. Pluteum, quod fuerit inter superiores columnas, item quarta parte minus quam superiores columnae fuerint oportere fieri videtur; uti supra basilicae contignationem ambulantes ab negotiatoribus ne conspiciantur. Epistylia, zophori coronae, ex symmetriis columnarum, uti in tertio libro diximus, explicantur.

Non minus summam dignitatem et venustatem possunt habere comparationes basilicarum, quo genere coloniae Juliae Fanestri collocavi, curavique faciendam; cujus proportionem et symmetriae sic sunt constitutae.

Mediana testudo inter columnas est, longa pedes CXX, lata pedes LX. Porticus ejus, circa testudinem, inter parietes et columnas lata pedes viginti. Columnae, altitudinibus perpetuis cum capitulis, pedum quinquaginta, crassitudinibus quinum, habentes post se parastaticas, altas pedes viginti, latas pedes duos semis, crassas pedem unum semis; quae sustinent trabes, in quibus invehuntur porticum contignationes: supraque eas aliae parastaticae, pedum decem et octo, latae binum, crassae pedem, quae excipiunt item trabes, sustinentes cantherium et porticus, quae sunt submissa infra testudinem, tecta. Reliqua spatia inter parastaticarum et columnarum trabes, per intercolumnia, luminibus sunt relictæ.

Columnae sunt in latitudine testudinis, cum angularibus dextra ac sinistra, quaternae, in longitudine (quae est Foro proxima) cum iisdem angularibus, octo; ex altera parte, cum angularibus, sex, ideo quod mediae duae in ea parte non sunt positae, ne impediunt aspectus pronai aedis Augusti, quae est in medio latere parietis basilicae collocata, spectans medium Forum et aedem Jovis.

Item tribunal est in ea aede, hemicycli schematis minore curvatura formatum: ejus autem hemicycli, in fronte, est intervallum pedum quadraginta sex, introrsus, curvatura pedum quindecim, uti, qui apud magistratus starent, negotiantes in basilica non impedirent.

Supra columnas, ex tribus tignis bipedalibus compactis, trabes sunt circa collocatae, eaeque ab tertiis columnis, quae sunt in interiori parte, revertuntur ad antas, quae a pronao procurrunt, dextraque ac sinistra hemicyclum tangunt.

Supra trabes, contra capitula, ex fulmentis dispositae pilae sunt collocatae, altae pedibus tribus, latae quoquo versus quaternis. Supra eas, ex duobus tignis bipedalibus, trabes euerganeae circa sunt collocatae, quibus insuper transtra, cum capreolis columnarum, contra corpora et antas et parietes pronai collocata, sustinent, unum culmen perpetuum basilicae, alterum a medio supra pronauum aedis. Ita fastigiorum duplex tecti nata dispositio, extrinsecus, et interioris altae testudinis, praestat speciem venustam.

Item sublata epistyliorum ornamenta, et pluteorum columnarumque superiorum distributio, operosam detrahit molestiam, sumptusque imminuit ex magna parte summam. Ipsae vero columnae, in altitudine perpetua sub trabes testudinis perductae, et magnificentiam impensæ, et auctoritatem operi, adiungere videntur.

The passage may be thus translated :—

The^a situation of basilicas should be, adjoined to the Fora upon their warmest side, in order that, in the winter-time, men of business may be able to assemble together in them, without being incommoded by the weather. The breadth of such buildings should not be made less than the third, nor more than the half, of their length, unless the nature of the site should interfere, and impose a different proportion. If, however, the site is unusually long, *chalcidica*^b must be formed at each extremity of the building, as is the case in the basilica Julia at Aquileia.

It seems right to make the height of the columns of a basilica equal to the width of its porticos (or aisles^c) and this should be one-third of the breadth of the space in the middle. The columns of the upper range must be smaller than those of the lower, as is mentioned above.

The balustrade-wall (*pluteum*) between the columns of the upper order should also be made, as it seems, only one-fourth less than the height of these columns, in order that those who are walking in the upper storey (of the porticos, or aisles) may not be in view of the negotiants below.

The *epistylia* (architraves), *zophori* (friezes), and *coronae* (cornices), should be proportioned to the columns, in the manner explained in my third book.

Nor will basilicas planned like that which I have myself designed, and carried out, in the *colonia Julia* at Fanum, have less dignity and beauty,^d the proportions and symmetry of which are as follows :—

There is a roof (*testudo*) over the central area within the columns, one hundred and twenty feet long, and sixty feet broad. Around this central roofed space is an aisle (or cloister, *porticus*) twenty feet in the clear, between the wall and the columns. The total height of the columns, with their capitals, is fifty feet, and their diameter five feet. Behind these are piers (*parastaticae*) which support the beams upon which the upper floor of the aisles is carried : these are twenty feet high, two-and-a-half feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. Above these (in the upper storey of the aisle) there are other piers, eighteen feet in height, two feet in width, and one in depth, which similarly support beams upon which rest the rafters of the aisle-roofs,

^a In this translation I have followed generally that of "The architecture of M. Vitruvius Pollio, translated from the original latin by W. Newton, 1791."

^b These were, as it seems, apartments separated from the basilica, by some kind of partition.

^c We must remember that our author is here speaking of a basilica, whose central area is hypæthral.

^d Vitruvius now proceeds to describe a basilica, of his own design, in which the central space was roofed in. He seems to treat of it as somewhat of a novelty, and very possibly it was the first example of its kind.

which are at a lower level than that of the great roof (*testudo*). The spaces, in each intercolumniation, between the beams which rest upon the piers, and those which are carried by the great columns^e are left open in order to admit light.

Across the ends of the central nave, there are (including the angle-columns, right and left) four columns; in its length there are, upon the side nearest to the Forum, eight (including the same angle-columns). Upon the opposite side of the nave there are (inclusive of the same angle-columns) but six, since the two central pillars of this range are omitted, in order not to obstruct the view of the pro-naos of the temple of Augustus, which is situated in the centre of the side-wall of the basilica, facing toward the midst of the Forum, and the temple of Jupiter.

The tribunal, moreover, is placed in this temple (of Augustus^f). It is formed upon a circular sweep somewhat less than a semi-circle. The width of its curve in front is forty-five feet, and its depth fifteen feet. It is thus placed in order that those who may have to appear before the magistrates may not obstruct the negotiants in the basilica.^g

Upon the great columns are placed girders running round the building, formed of three beams, each two feet square, and these, from the third pillars (from the angle, right and left), on the side away from the Forum, are returned to the *antae*, which project from the pro-naos (of the temple of Augustus) and which, on each side, touch the curved tribunal.

Upon the beams, over each of the capitals, are placed blocks to serve as corbels, each of them three feet in height, and about four feet broad. Over these, moulded girders formed of two beams, each two feet square, are carried all round, upon which rest the principal rafters and braces of the roof, ranging with the columns. These form together one continuous roof over the basilica itself, and also another, intersecting with it in the centre of its length, which extends over the *pro-naos* of the temple (of Augustus), and rests partly upon the *antae* and partly upon the walls of the *pro-naos*. The intersection (resulting from this disposition) of the ridges externally, and of the lofty ceiling internally, has a very beautiful effect.

Moreover, the omission of the enrichments of the architraves, and the arrangement both of the balustrade-wall, and of the upper range of pillars, diminishes the labour of the work, and reduces, very considerably, its cost. At the same time, the columns, being carried in one unbroken height up to the beams which support the ceiling, add to the apparent magnificence of the expense, and to the dignity of the work.

NOTE.

The basilica of Pompeia, alluded to in the text, illustrates to some extent the description given (in the first section of the above) of the unroofed type of these exchanges. The site being very long "imposed," as Vitruvius has it, "a different proportion" to that which he recommends as the normal one. The unroofed area is 140 feet by 40, its breadth being thus two-sevenths of its length, while in addition to this a *chalcidicum* is

^e The columns being fifty feet in height, and the piers in rear of them being, respectively, twenty and eighteen feet high, the spaces thus left, after allowing for the thickness (1) of the upper floor of the aisles, and (2) of the aisle-roof, would be about ten feet in height. These formed, in fact, a clere-story.

^f Clearly in its pro-naos.

^g Thus the tribunal is placed, not at one end of the building, as in the christian basilicas, but in the centre of one side. Moreover, it is not, in any sense, an apse, but a low erection, in the nature of a *podium*, which in no way obstructed the view of the temple behind it. Vitruvius (iv. 8, vulgo 7) terms the *podium* under the columns of a circular temple, *tribunal*, which serves to show what was his notion of such an erection as is here described.

added, as suggested by our author, which, in this instance, served as the tribunal of the magistrate. This *chalcidicum* is rectangular, its floor is raised some six feet above that of the aisle of the basilica (which is returned across the front of the tribunal), and upon the deep *podium*, thus formed, stands a range of six columns much smaller, of course, than those of the main building. It would be difficult to imagine a distribution more completely at variance with the conception of the apsidal sanctuaries of the christian basilicæ. There was no direct ascent from the body of the building into the tribunal, to which two flights of stairs contrived in the mass of the side walls of the *chalcidicum* alone gave access. The rule of Vitruvius, that the width of the porticoes should be one-third of the breadth of the central space, is followed in this instance.

A plan of this building will be found in Lenoir ("Archit. Monast.," i., p. 105). It is a curious fact that this basilica was excavated out and explored immediately after the destruction of the city, in order to recover the legal archives, deposited in the tribunal, and buried among its ruins.

CHAPTER III.

IN the preceding chapter I have brought down the history of our national church architecture to the period of the norman conquest.

It will be remembered that while confining my subject to the history of our own ecclesiastical buildings, I showed that it is impossible to view this as isolated from the general history of christian art, more especially from the progress of the architecture of the Western Church.

The church architecture of the Anglo-Saxons is the first of which we have in this country any distinct remains, and I endeavoured to make it clear that this architecture derives from two independent sources. On the one side is christian Rome; on the other, the traditions of the primitive church of Britain.

Both of these two elements I have endeavoured, with some care, to exhibit. The one is represented by the apsidal basilica, the other by the square-ended churches of Ireland.

I endeavoured to show that the basilican type was not a mere adaptation of a pagan model, but was the outcome of a primitive tradition. We have seen too that this was not the only model which Constantine found existing: that there was also, side by side with this, the peculiarly eastern, or byzantine type, from which is derived the churches of the orthodox communion; and further that there was a simple and characteristic type, peculiar to british christianity.

With the second of these our inquiry has nothing to do, for it has at no period influenced the course of english church architecture: but with the other two, the latin and the british models, we are intimately concerned, for from the meeting and interaction of these two have been formed the characteristics of our own architecture.

Let it be clearly understood that it is to neither of these alone, but to the two—as they became, in the course of ages, combined—that our own medieval ecclesiology owes its origin; as did also those rites for the celebration of which our ancient churches were designed.

The old english ritual, of which that of the church of Salisbury is the typical example, is curiously parallel in its history to that of our church architecture.

The anglo-saxon use was, in essence, the roman or petrine rite, as brought over by St. Augustine, modified (by himself and his successors, in accordance with the wise instructions of pope Gregory the Great) by the introduction of certain

features peculiar to the ancient british liturgy, which features are allied to the old gallican or ephesine ritual. The history of the norman, or Rouen use, is not very different.

Some time before the conversion of the norman conquerors of Neustria, the whole of France “had exchanged,” as Dr. Rock puts it,^a “her national liturgy for that of the apostolic see.” But this adoption of the petrine liturgy did not greatly affect the ceremonial itself, in which numberless peculiarities of the old gallican use were retained, and are still retained to this day. Thus, these north-men, upon becoming christians, adopted, indeed, the roman ritual, but with those modifications of it—more especially in matters ceremonial—which were, in the tenth century, traditional in Gaul.

Upon the conquest of England by the Normans, St. Osmund, a nephew of the Conqueror, was appointed (in succession to Herman, the ninth bishop of Wilton, and the first bishop of Old Sarum) to the see of Salisbury. He was a man of a truly christian spirit, and he was above all things anxious to promote the fusion of the two races, thus violently brought into contact. With this end he drew up a ritual for the church of his adoption, in which the peculiarities of ceremony, dear to each of the two nations, should be incorporated.

This was not a difficult task, just because the norman and the saxon rites had had, so nearly, the same history. Both were, in their essence, roman, and in both the petrine original had been modified by traditional usages, which in each case were, at bottom, oriental.

There was, in fact, no great or important variance between the rites of the conquerors, and of the conquered. St. Osmund appears to have introduced nothing of his own, but to have simply arranged the church-offices in such sort that his clergy, composed as they were, of Normans and of Saxons, might have one uniform rule, in which the little details, to which each were attached, should be preserved.

We see here, as is so frequently the case also in the history of our church architecture, that latin element which is supreme in all modern history, in combination with other influences, as ancient as itself, and witnessing to the same faith, but of which the origin is to be sought in the far-off east.^b

^a “Church of our Fathers,” iv. 119.

^b The practical identity of the Salisbury and Rouen rites is so great that any one who may, at this day, desire to see

Returning to the proper subject of our present investigation we observe that it is through the roman basilica, and the british church, that we trace back the art of the middle ages to the early days of primitive christianity.

I have attempted in the last chapter to exhibit, under this double aspect, the architecture of the saxon period, and I come now to that great event which influenced even more strongly the architectural history of England than it did its political: I mean the norman conquest.

The style introduced by the Normans is the earliest form of ecclesiastical architecture of which we possess numerous and complete examples in this country of the first rank, in point of scale, and of importance.

It is, as we have seen, a mistake to suppose, as many do, that it is the first of which we have any remains. We have in England, and in Ireland, a few relics which carry us back to the period of the british church: we have several churches of saxon date tolerably complete, and many in which certain portions—a doorway, or an arch, or it may be only a font—belong to that age. I believe, further, the number of remains of saxon work, existing in the country, to be very much greater than is commonly supposed.

Still, it is not until after the Conquest that the history of english church architecture becomes clear and easy to be followed. From this date onwards we find buildings of large size, or very considerable portions of such, remaining untouched and still in use,—we are able to affix with certainty the dates of the different remains,—to complete, with a fair amount of accuracy, their designs where imperfect,—and to follow in every detail the steps of the progress, by which the refined works of the later middle ages were evolved from the rude, but vigorous, elements of the norman romanesque.

The norman invasion was eminently favourable

in action the Sarum ceremonial has but to cross the channel and go to Rouen. The differences between the old Sarum use, and that of the capital of Normandy at the present moment, are so slight that they would be almost unnoticed by any but a scientific student of ritual. The Sarum use differed, in ceremonial, from the roman little more than does the existing Rouen use, and certainly less than does the liturgy still employed in the arch-diocese of Milan. There are, of course, numerous bodies of oriental christians in communion with the latin patriarchate, whose rituals, unlike that of Salisbury, are derived from a tradition wholly distinct from that of Rome. The french uses, which have been, within the last half-century, replaced by the roman ritual, were all of them much more modern than the Book of Common Prayer. They had been drawn up by different bishops, many of them during the last century, for use in their own dioceses. The principal motives which determined their edition were, (1) a pedantic wish to improve the latinity of the older missals; and (2) the notion of adopting in all cases the *ipsissima verba* of the Holy Scriptures. (Cf. Dr. Neale's "Essays in Liturgiology.") In these recensions the ancient features of the french ceremonial, many of them really gallican (*i.e.* ephesine), were retained, and these have been, and still continue to be, preserved now that these modern innovations have been corrected. So true is, as Dr. Rock well observes, the prophecy of the Psalmist concerning the Church, "*astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate.*"

to ecclesiastical art. During their settlement in Neustria, short though it had been, the Norsemen had taken up, with wonderful readiness, the thread of roman tradition, which Gaul had never lost, and they had already infused into it a new life.

How far their style was distinct from the romanesque of other parts of the north of France it would be difficult, perhaps, to ascertain.

We have, however, the direct evidence of those who knew both styles, that the art, introduced into this country by the invader, was distinct from that which had previously prevailed here. It is spoken of as "a new mode of architectural composition—*novum genus compositionis*," and the evidence of our own observation confirms the truth of the statement. But to a certain extent the style was new, not only to England but in itself; and the Conquest was, possibly, only the means by which this new style was brought in, somewhat sooner than it would otherwise have been.

Nevertheless, the energy and vigour which distinguishes the norman work in England, from that of the saxon period, is very striking, and the difference between the two styles seems to me to be one, not of degree, but of kind.

The saxon work exhibits, as a matter of fact, the last dying out of an enfeebled tradition, which had never been heartily grasped, or thoroughly understood. On the other hand the norman work seems to me the free, spontaneous, developement of a new life within the veins of the old tradition. The one is the withering away of the old, the other, the first budding forth of the new. The saxon recalls, in its sad falling off, the glories of the past, the norman is pregnant with the suggestions of a great future.

To one who has realized that all art owes its character, not to tradition alone, but to the sentiments, to the beliefs, to the very natures of the men who created it, the difference in expression of the two styles is most significant.

It is true that the influence of this change of expression may be traced, in the works of the eleventh century, over the whole of western Europe; but it is none the less true that the norman conquest was the occasioning cause of its appearance among ourselves, and that this great event constituted, in England, the turning-point in the history of its architecture.

This change, from the debased roman manner, to the new and vigorous romanesque, forms the point at which ancient art becomes transformed into modern; and it is extremely important to a proper understanding of the history to realize this distinctly.

The great line which separates ancient and modern art is not to be drawn at the discovery of the pointed arch. It is not the first invention of the gothic style, which is the most significant fact in the transition,—it is the developement of the romanesque.

This great change is essentially one of spirit and expression rather than of form: but once effected it began to modify decisively the received types, and it led finally to the adoption of entirely new and original systems, both of design and of construction.

We must, in my opinion, attribute this great revolution in art to the native genius of the teutonic races.

It is perfectly true that the northern tribes had long been settled in western Europe before any effect, beyond a uniform deterioration, is observable in the progress of architecture. Indeed, it is not until the tenth century that we observe the symptoms of a new life in the art. The civilization of Rome had been adopted by those who broke up its empire, as something extraneous and foreign, and many centuries elapsed before it had become assimilated.

But the new races at length succeeded in making the old civilization so thoroughly their own, that they were able to treat it with perfect freedom, and to modify it according to the bent of their own originality.

The result of the mastery at length obtained, over the borrowed forms of the ancient world, was at once striking, and characteristic of the northern mind.

For centuries the Romans, and the latinized nations, had striven to reconcile in their architecture two incongruous elements—the arcuated construction, which had been derived from the Etruscans—and the trabeated system of architectural decoration, adopted from the Greeks—the principle of the arch, with the forms proper to the lintol. In spite of the real nobleness of the works which they produced, under these conflicting impulses—a grandeur due rather to expression than to consistency—they had never succeeded in creating a rational round-arched style of building. The greek details which they would not abandon, because they felt themselves incapable of inventing better, hampered them at every turn.

Yet their natural bent is shown in the fact, that they succeeded best in those buildings in which arched and vaulted construction plays the more important part in the design. With all their masterly detail, the temples of the Romans are less impressive than their amphitheatres,—in the former the lintol determines the construction, in the latter the arch,—while those works which are most characteristic of their genius, are their aqueducts and their bridges, works from which the suggestion of the trabeated system is almost entirely absent.

In the remarkable group of buildings, both ecclesiastical and civil, erected in central Syria between the third and the sixth centuries, to which I have already had occasion to refer, there is evidence of a readiness to break away from the, essentially retrograde, traditions derived from greek architecture, which might have saved christendom long ages, sterile of architectural progress, but this bright hope was destined to be crushed out; all too soon, by the triumph of the Mohammedan reaction.

It was left, therefore, to the talent of the northern nations to produce a genuine round-arched style, in which the tradition of greek construction—always unreasonable in an arcuated architecture—should be finally and completely abandoned, and in which the decoration should grow naturally out of the necessities of the constructional system.

The change thus effected may be illustrated by a comparison of the two modes of treatment in a few important features of architectural construction.

In the ornamentation of the arch itself the Romans, having no greek precedents to follow, adopted the plan of bending the mouldings of the horizontal lintol to follow the sweep of the arch. Unreasonable as this undoubtedly was, a very fine expression is given by the contrast of the flat and delicate treatment proper to an architrave, with the massive construction of the arches to which it was applied. It is certainly singular that a system of moulding, expressly designed for a horizontal position, should look so well applied thus to the sweep of a curve: and when, in the sixteenth century, that new system, which was destined to supersede the romanesque method, had at last played itself out, men turned back again to this crude device—this naive application of greek detail to roman construction—and found in it, again, a strange attraction.

But this compromise did not satisfy the tenth-century builders, and they set themselves to work out a more scientific treatment.

An arch of any great strength is constructed naturally of several concentric rims, as may be noticed in any ordinary brick railway-bridge. To the romanesque builders it occurred to recess each rim (or *order*, as it is termed), instead of setting them all upon the same face. The section of an arch thus came to present a series of salient and re-entering angles. This simple innovation was pregnant with possibilities of future growth. The treatment, thus adopted, forms in itself a sufficient arch decoration, but it is capable of any amount of enrichment, by carving or by mouldings, and the working out of the various modes, by which this new principle may be elaborated, may be said to constitute, in one point of view, the history of medieval architecture.

Instead, therefore, of a mode of decorating the arch, foreign to its construction, and sub-serving no practical purpose, the romanesque builders introduced a system, in which the construction itself determines the decoration; and by which an economy of materials is effected, both in the arches, and in the piers on which they rest.

For the change, thus introduced, necessarily affected the pier, as well as the arch.

In roman architecture the pier is a mere square, or oblong, mass of wall, which is relieved, if at all, by the addition of an engaged column, or pilaster, having no constructional *raison d'être*, serving only to support an architrave equally unmeaning. Yet it was only by such a contrivance that the nakedness of the pier could, on this imperfect system, be relieved.

The romanesque architects, by their invention of the sub-ordination of arch-orders arrived at once at a natural and reasonable mode of giving a decorative form to the pier. The salient and re-entering angles of the arch section are continued down the pier, and the requisite relief of light and shade is at once obtained.

As the salient angles of the arch may be enriched by mouldings, so the corresponding angles of the pier may be converted into engaged shafts, each with its own capital and base, each colonnette having its own decorative function, the support—as suggested to the eye—of one of the several orders of the arch.^c From this innovation grew naturally that beautiful feature of gothic architecture, the clustered pillar.

By this system the engaged column of the classic pier—which had no function but to carry an architrave, which again had no function except to be carried by the column—ceased to be needed. It was therefore abandoned, and columns were affixed to the faces of piers, only where they were required to carry the groin-arches, or to support the timbers of the roof.

A similarly logical process transformed the pilaster into the buttress.

The classic pilaster had reference always to a column. It was, in fact, as we should now term it, a respond. This relation to the column is shown in the mode of its construction, in which long upright stones are employed, with only a few bonders, so as to interfere as little as possible with its vertical character.^d

In default of other modes of decorating wall-spaces, it had become customary to employ, for the purpose, such pilasters, still preserving their original relation to the column—which in such a position was entirely unmeaning—and furnished with capitals, to justify which it was necessary to introduce an architrave, equally wanting in constructional significance.

The pilaster was, by the romanesque builders, freed altogether from this, its traditional relation to the column, which had long become obsolete. They treated it as simply a thickening out of the wall, introduced at those points at which special strength is required: they bonded it in coursed work, like the rest of the wall, and terminated it, not by a capital but by a weathered slope, or allowed it to run up as a support to the overhanging eaves-course, which carried the gutters.

This new and reasonable character once assumed, the pilaster began to expand itself, offering resistance to stronger and stronger thrusts, till it became at length the gothic buttress, and all trace of its classic parentage had finally disappeared.

A similar freedom is shown in the romanesque treatment of architectural proportion.

The Romans, here again, had been trammelled by the greek traditions, and by the rules which they had deduced for themselves from the greek models. Every composition, large or small, was bound by the same rules, so that a doorway or a window was treated almost as if it were a small model of a temple façade.

^c See a very remarkable chapter "On Mechanical and Decorative Construction," in Professor Willis's "Remarks upon the Architecture of the Middle Ages," cap. ii.

^d From this, as we have already seen, is derived the saxon "long and short work."

The super-position of orders, one standing upon the architrave of the other, for which the roman architects have been blamed by purists, was really an attempt after a more reasonable system of proportioning buildings: but it was left to the romanesque artists to emancipate the art of proportion, altogether, from the rules of pedantry, and to leave it to the free handling of genius and good sense. Small buildings were no longer to be designed as models of large ones, but each scale had its own appropriate treatment.

So, too, with every feature of architecture. A large arch no longer appears as simply a small one magnified, as is the case in the classic work, it is now formed with many orders instead of few. The pier follows the same rule, increasing in complexity as it increases in size, and so with every other portion of the work. The large arch is constructed of many orders, the small one of few: the large building is designed with nearly the same scale of detail as the smaller one, but it consists of a greater number of parts, and in the increased multiplicity of these parts, the spectator realizes the magnitude of the whole.

Such were the new principles of design at which the architects of the tenth and eleventh centuries had arrived. The style thus produced was the first pure and rational arcuated architecture which Europe had as yet seen.

It was the norman conquest which introduced to England the early results of this great movement.

One of the first and noblest examples remaining to us of the new mode of design then introduced is St. Alban's Abbey.

This church was originally founded, only ten years after the martyrdom of St. Alban, who suffered in the Diocletian persecution at Verulam.^e This was a place of some importance upon the arrival of the Romans, and was, accordingly, constituted a *municipium*. It remained faithful to the imperial government, and was taken and sacked by Boadicea, in the year 61.

In the third century the site of the present city of St. Albans was a wooded hill (hence termed by the Saxons, in later times, Holmhurst). This hill served—as Calvary did at Jerusalem—for the place of public executions. Thus, as the doggerel runs—

"When Verulam stood,
St. Albans was a wood;
Now St. Albans is a town,
And Verulam's thrown down."

The cause which has brought about this conspicuous result, is an event which must have seemed of very small importance to most of those who saw it—the execution of a mutinous native legionary, whose crime consisted, mainly, in this, that he had, while yet a pagan, protected and concealed a

^e Verulam=Gwer, Ilan—the temple upon the river Ver, now the Mure, a tributary of the Colne, which falls into the Thames.

christian deacon, who was flying from the persecution then raging.^f

The story of the martyrdom, as told by Bede,^g is extremely interesting.

Alban, a pagan british soldier,^h had, from motives of humanity, given shelter to Amphibalus. This cleric having been for some days entertained by him, it came to the ears of the roman governor "that this holy confessor of Christ, whose time of martyrdom had not yet come, was concealed in Alban's house" in Verulam. Thereupon soldiers were sent to make a strict search for him. When they came, Alban, who had been so impressed by the intense reality of his guest's devotion, that he had "cast off the darkness of idolatry, and had become a christian in all sincerity of heart," presented himself to the soldiers, instead of his guest and master, in the long habit which the deacon was accustomed to wear, and was led, bound, before the magistrate.

The judge was, at the moment, standing at the altar in the act of sacrificing. When he saw Alban, he was incensed that he should thus, of his own accord, put himself into danger, and commanding him to be brought up to the altar, he said—"Since you have chosen to conceal a rebellious and sacrilegious person, rather than deliver him up, that his

contempt of the gods might meet with the penalty due to such blasphemy, you shall, if you abandon the worship of our religion, undergo all the punishment that was due to him."

When questioned as to his name, the saint replied, "I am called Alban by my parents, and I worship and adore the true and living God, who has created all things." Upon this he was ordered to be scourged, the magistrate thinking that "he might by stripes shake that constancy of heart, on which he could not prevail by words." This failing, Alban was condemned to death.

"Being led to execution, he came to the river (Gwer, now the Mure) which, with a most rapid course, ran between the wall" (of Verulam) "and the hill" (now St. Albans city), "where he was to be executed. He there saw a multitude of persons of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions, who were doubtless assembled by a divine instinct, to attend upon the blessed martyr, and who had so taken up the bridge, which here crosses the river, that he could scarce pass over that evening. Alban, urged by an ardent and devout desire to arrive quickly at martyrdom, drew near to the running stream, and upon his lifting up his eyes to heaven, the channel was immediately dried up, and he perceived that the water had departed and had left a way for him to pass across." The executioner that was to have put him to death observed this, as did the others who were upon the bridge and about it, and, "moved by a divine inspiration," he hurried to the place of execution, met the saint as he was quietly walking up from the little valley in which the river runs, and "casting down the sword which he had been carrying ready drawn, fell at his feet, praying that he might rather suffer with the martyr, or if it might so be, instead of him.

"Thus he, from a persecutor, was become a companion in the faith, and the other executioners, too, hesitated to take up the sword, which was left lying upon the ground.

"But the venerable confessor of Christ, accompanied by the crowd, ascended the hill, which was situated about five hundred paces from the town (of Verulam), adorned, or rather clothed, with all kinds of flowers, having its sides neither perpendicular, nor even craggy, but sloping down into a most beautiful plain, worthy, from its lovely appearance, to be the scene of a martyr's sufferings.ⁱ Here the head of our most courageous martyr was struck off.

"At the same time was also beheaded the soldier, who, through a divine admonition, had refused to give the stroke to the holy confessor, of whom it is apparent, that although he was not regenerated by baptism, yet was he cleansed in the laver of his own blood, and made meet to enter into the heavenly kingdom."

Gildas, who wrote *De Excidio Britannia*, in 564, Bede, writing in 731, and the author of a MS. formerly in possession of the church of Rochester, to

ⁱ This description of the site of the martyrdom is as true in fact, as it is touching in its beauty.

^f The name of this deacon was Amphibalus. He escaped for the time, but was subsequently captured in Wales. The intention of the persecutors seems to have been that he, too, should suffer at Verulam; but he was, as a matter of fact, executed at Redbourn, four miles to the south of the city, where there is, to this day, a church dedicated in his honour. His body lay in the abbey church at St. Albans, within a shrine, the substructure of which has recently been discovered and re-erected, upon its original site, in the vestibule of the lady-chapel. His name has given occasion to some wild and characteristic conjectures. Fuller suggests that it may be a greek translation of a nickname in his own language, derived from the long coat which, as we learn from Bede, he—in common, no doubt, with all the clerics of his day—was accustomed to wear. "Samuel," he observes, "was marked by such a mantle. So Robert Curt-hose had his surname from going in such a garment." But if the greek language was known in Britain in the third century, we may assume that it was known correctly, and the nickname thus derived would be, not Amphibalus, but Amphibolus (*ἀμφιβολος*). Some modern mythicists have built upon this theory of Fuller's a curious superstructure. According to them, the man whose bones were burnt by Henry VIII. was himself a mere cloak—St. Amphibalus was but a christian idealisation of St. Alban's overcoat. We have here a good illustration of the very common process by which a blunder becomes a myth (cf. a very clever reduction, by a french priest, of the history of Napoleon the Great into a most complete solar myth, given in Baring Gould's "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," p. 127). I believe myself that the name, Amphibalus, has as much to do with the Greek *ἀμφιβάλω* as the name Albanus has to do with the Latin *albus*. Both are, clearly, british names expressed in roman characters. *Alban* is evidently connected with *albion*, and possibly with *alp* (cf. *alba longa*), certainly not with *albus*, and when the language, not perhaps of our forefathers, but of our fore-bears, is better known, we shall be able, no doubt, to see through the latinised *amphibalus* its british original.

^g "Ecclesiastical History," i. 7.

^h Bede states that the priest, Fortunatus, in his "Praise of Virgins," in which he makes mention of the blessed martyrs who had come to the Lord from all parts of the world, says—

"In Britain's isle was holy Alban born."

which the date 794 is assigned (in Leland's "Collectanea"), all agree that a church was erected in honour of St. Alban, on the spot where he had suffered, upon the establishment of the peace of the church, under Constantine (himself half a Briton), within a very few years of his martyrdom.^j

Bede's words are as follows:—"A church was there erected, of remarkable workmanship, and not unworthy of the martyrdom of the saint which it commemorates." *Ecclesia est, mirandi operis atque ejus martyrio condigna, extracta.* (I. 7.)

In the year 429 a council was assembled in this church of St. Alban, to combat the Pelagian heresy, which, as Bede says,^k "had been introduced by Agricola, a Pelagian bishop, and had sadly corrupted the faith of the Britons." At this council were present, "by command of holy church," Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes.^l Upon the suppression of the heresy, the clergy "repaired to the tomb of the martyr, St. Alban, to return thanks to God through him."^m Upon this occasion, Germanus commanded the tomb to be opened, and having abstracted a little of the dust therein, imbued with the martyr's blood, he placed within the coffin certain relics of the holy apostles, which there remained until the honoured bones of these illustrious men were destroyed, with much else, by Henry VIII.

This may serve to show that the church of the saint was, in the fifth century, one of importance.ⁿ

Not long after the visit of Germanus, Verulam fell into the hands of the pagan Saxons. Uther Pendragon, after a very tedious siege, recovered it; but upon his death it appears to have fallen again into their hands, for Gildas plainly intimates that the

Saxons, in his day (circ. 564), were in possession of the city.

The Saxons changed its name to Werlam-ceaster, or Watling-ceaster, according to the readings of different MSS., the former being, of course, derived from the romanised-British Verulam, the latter from the Watling Street which passed through it.^o

Giraldus Cambrensis (writing about the year 1300) states that many churches were erected in honour of St. Alban by the British Christians prior to the Saxon invasion.

About the year 793, Offa II., king of Mercia, who had murdered Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, and was desirous to re-establish his character before the world, and to appease his troubled conscience,^p determined to found a monastery of the Benedictine order, in the church of St. Alban, upon the hill of Holmhurst. William of Malmesbury states^q that Offa was urged to do this by Charles the Great, with whom he held a friendly correspondence.^r

It appears that the body of the saint had been removed from the church, in order that it might escape the desecrating hands of the pagan Saxons, and had, for a long while, laid buried—*sub cespite diu absconditum* (Matt. Paris). When the coffin was opened by Offa, it was found to contain, beside the body of St. Alban, those other sacred remains which had been placed therein by St. Germanus. These venerable relics were deposited by Offa in a suitable shrine, and were translated, in solemn procession, into the small ancient church (*ecclesiola*) which he had already repaired.^s

Offa undertook a journey to Rome in order to obtain the sanction of Pope Adrian I. to his proposed monastic foundation, which was granted, together with the canonisation of our martyr, and certain especial privileges were then accorded to the new establishment.^t

It thus appears that Offa did not found at St. Albans a church, but a monastery in connection

^j St. Alban was executed under the edict of Diocletian, which was promulgated at Nicomedia in the year 303. Constantine's decree of toleration was issued in the year 323. Dr. Nicholson mentions, on the authority of an ancient Agonal, or history of the passion of our saint, that upon his execution the inhabitants of Verulam caused an account of his death to be recorded upon a marble tablet, which they placed in the town-wall as a public opprobrium to him, and a terror to all Christians.

^k "Eccles. Hist.," i. 17.

^l St. Prosper of Aquitaine, a contemporary authority, informs us that St. Germanus was nominated to this mission as papal legate by Pope Celestine I., who had previously sent over, upon the same errand, the deacon Pelladius, whom he afterwards ordained bishop and commissioned to pass into Scotland. (Cf. Prosp. in Chron. æt. I. contra Collat. c. 21, referred to by Butler, "Lives of the Saints," ii., p. 138.)

^m "Eccles. Hist.," i. 18.

ⁿ The Pelagian heresy was essentially a practical error. While the Orientals were employed in the working out of subtle metaphysical fallacies, the inhabitants of our own island were interesting themselves in questions of free-will and of human spontaneity. It is remarkable that it is the same class of questions which have always occupied the minds of their Teutonic successors. The Anglo-Saxon race, like their British predecessors, have always felt the force, not of the metaphysical, but of the practical objections against the Catholic religion. At the present day, the difficulties which vex the soul of an English unbeliever are not—as far as I am able to judge—theoretical, but practical. The question of the origin of evil, an essentially practical one, lies at the root of most honest English unbelief of Christianity. Our home-grown speculative heresies are, to this day, not Gnostic, but Agnostic.

^o The Waetlings were the wild banditti who lived in the unreclaimed forests, as contra-distinguished from the husbandmen who tilled the cultivated land. They were the precursors of Robin Hood and of the "Green man," in honour of whom so many of our road-side hostleries are dedicated. The woodlands through which the Watling Street (*strata via*) ran for some thirty or forty miles after leaving London, were notorious, during the middle ages, for the forest-caitiffs by which they were infested.

^p Cf. "An Account of the Abbey of St. Alban" (Bell and Sons, Covent Garden), by the late rector of the parish, Dr. H. T. B. Nicholson, to which I am largely indebted for the early history of the place.

^q Lib. i., cap. 4.

^r King Offa founded also the church of St. Alban in Wood Street, in the city of London, contiguous to his own palace there.

^s Matthew Paris, "Vita Offæ II." It was an "ecclesiola" to the historian, who had seen the greater church of Paul and of Trumpington, but it was doubtless a very large and splendid edifice in the eyes of those who built it, and of those who first worshipped within its walls.

^t The abbat of St. Alban's was the premier abbat of England until his primacy was disputed, in later times, by his brother of Westminster. The question was then settled, in true English fashion, by a compromise.

with the church which already existed. It is possible that the original "*ecclesia mirandi operis*" of Bede's account, the "*ecclesiola*" of the later historian (Matthew Paris), who had lived under the shade of its truly colossal norman successor, remained unaltered, except by successive reparations, until the norman conquest.

This church is thus, in its history, a parallel to that of Canterbury: erected, like it, "by the labour of roman believers;" ruined by our pagan saxon forefathers; restored through the influence of the roman missionaries; and re-erected, upon a vastly enlarged scale, upon the conquest of our land by the christianised and gallicised Norsemen.

The two last anglo-saxon abbats had prepared a great quantity of materials for the work, excavated from the ruins of the, then deserted, city of Verulam, but a famine, and the troubles of the norman invasion, had prevented the execution of their plan.

In the year 1077, Paul, a relative of the norman archbishop, Lanfranc, and a monk of St. Stephen's, at Caen, was appointed abbat, and he is stated to have rebuilt the whole church in eleven years.

The church thus erected is on a vast scale, and immensely massive in construction. The transepts, the central tower, a great part of the nave, and the mass of the walls of the presbytery remain as Paul built them, and they give us an admirable example of the work immediately succeeding the Conquest.

It is remarkable that while Lanfranc (as we shall presently see), when he became primate, but reproduced, as his metropolitan cathedral, the monastic church at Caen, of which he had been abbat, the monk, Paul, when he found himself abbat of St. Alban's, set to work to rebuild his church upon a far grander scale. The following table will serve to illustrate the difference:—

St. Stephen's at Caen, and Lanfranc's Canterbury Cathedral.

Nave - - - -	9 bays.
Transepts - - -	2 bays, with one chapel.
Quire - - - -	2 bays, and the apse.
Total length - -	300 feet.
Width across Transept	140 feet.
Width of West Front	88 feet.

Paul's St. Alban's abbey church.

Nave - - - -	13 bays.
Transept - - -	3 bays, with two chapels.
Quire - - - -	4 bays, and the apse.
Total length - -	465 feet.
Width across Transept	210 feet.
Width of West Front	155 feet.

This contrast in point of dimensions between the first of english monasteries and the first of our cathedral churches (itself, too, monastic), erected at the same date, and under the direction of two great men, relatives in blood, and monks, originally, of the same house in Normandy, is not without its significance."

It is further to be noticed, as illustrating the force

"It serves to illustrate the immense importance in our country, re-christianised as it had been by monks, of the monastic establishments. It is not often considered what a serious change in the constitution of the country was effected by the dissolution of the great religious houses. Not only

of the distinct ecclesiastical traditions of each church, which even the Conquest did not interrupt, and which the norman ecclesiastics could not choose but respect, that archbishop Lanfranc's cathedral had a crypt, while the church of abbat Paul at St. Alban's had none. Lanfranc, in this particular, and in this alone, departed from his model, the church of his old monastic home in Normandy, in order to conform to the traditions of the church of his adoption: while Paul's great work, whose grander conception owed almost nothing to St. Stephen's, resembled it in this—and in this, perhaps, alone—that it had no crypt.

Canterbury had, from the time of Augustine, as we know from Eadmer, a confessionalary crypt, planned upon the model of that of the ancient vatican basilica, while the church on the gibbet-hill,¹ by Verulam, appears never to have possessed this essentially roman feature."

A comparison of this grand work with the church in Dover Castle, constructed also of roman brick—putting aside, of course, the difference of scale—enables us to realize the immense advance which architecture had made."

The work is constructed entirely of brick. So scarce, indeed, was stone that we find the triforium of the transepts differing in design from that of the nave, apparently because there existed, ready to hand, some few stone balusters of saxon workmanship—portions, no doubt, of Offa's work.² These

was the voting power of the church, in the House of Lords, diminished by more than one-half—it had numbered fifty votes (in a house which rarely comprised much more than one hundred members) before the dissolution, and it counted but twenty-two after that event; but the abbasies which were suppressed were probably, upon the whole, more important politically, and represented larger interests, territorial and social, than the episcopal sees themselves. The church became a much less important factor in the constitution of the country than it had hitherto been, as a consequence of the act of Henry VIII.

¹ Eadmer, in his *Historia Novorum*, lib. i., tells us that it was the policy of the normans to replace the monks, "qui in nonnullis episcopatibus Angliæ ab antiquo vitam agebant," by secular canons: that Walkelyn attempted this at Winchester, and that especial efforts were made to bring about the change (anticipating by five centuries the work of Archbishop Cranmer) at Canterbury, where it was contended that monks were entirely out of place, "partim ob sublimitatem primatis sedis, quæ dispositioni et correctioni ecclesiarum per suas personas quacunq; per Angliam invigilare habet, partim ob alias multiplices causas quarum executio, juxta quod ipsi confingebant, magis clericorum quam monachorum officium spectat." The innovators were, however, defeated in both instances, as our author says—"gratia Dei et instantia boni Lanfranci."

² Cf. the drawings of this church given in my father's "Lectures," ii., p. 41.

³ These are commonly spoken of as portions of Offa's church. This is clearly a mistake. It is evident, from the early accounts, that Offa did not rebuild the existing church. What he did was to found a benedictine house in connection with it. Dugdale remarks ("Monasticon," ii., p. 179), "The chapel noticed by Bede"—*ecclesia mirandi operis* is his words—"which had been built by the early converts to christianity, appears to have been appropriated by Offa, as the church of his new monastery; the official buildings in addition being completed by him within four or five years." It appears to me very probable that the balusters now to be seen in the triforia of the transepts of St. Alban's church originally formed part of the cloister of Offa's work,

fragments enabled the norman builders to subdivide the transept triforia, unlike those of the nave, into coupled arches. Norman caps and bases were added to the saxon balusters, and where these shafts were too short, the length was eked out in roman tiles.

Stone being so rare, the material used throughout is brick, but none of this brickwork was exposed to view. Following the custom which the Romans themselves adopted, in every case where freestone was not procurable, the whole was plastered both internally and externally.

The external plastering has been in modern times removed, by which a certain picturesque effect is produced, quite contrary to the intention of the original builders. For the present the plastering of the interior has been happily spared, though there are—I believe—architects who would uncover the nakedness, even of this venerable monument. Were the same treatment to be applied to the interior which has been adopted externally, the building would appear, internally, as a mere rude grotto.

Such an effect was, however, the exact reverse of that which its designer intended. Plain as the internal architecture is—the arches being perfectly square, though of several orders, continued down the piers, and relieved only by an impost—nevertheless the effect aimed at was, in reality, one of great refinement, contrasting very favourably with the works of these modern purists, who venture to condemn the simple means by which its effect is obtained.

Not only are the proportions admirably adjusted, and an effect of real delicacy obtained by the contrast of the small recesses of the piers and arches, with their wide and imposing reveals and soffits, but the whole was decorated in colour. Of this system of coloured enrichment sufficient remains to us to enable even the amateur to form a fair notion of what the complete effect must have been.

I know few things more imposing, and in its way more refined, than the effect of the north side of the nave of this noble church, where the original norman design remains unaltered. Almost every portion of this fine work shows remains of its coloured decoration, much of it in a very perfect state, and the effect is at once dignified and beautiful. Such parts of the decoration as are wanting here may be supplied to imagination by the remains, existing in other parts of the church, while the painting of the wooden ceiling, though of later date, presents sufficiently the tradition of the original treatment.^y

The whole of the interior has been painted in simple ochreous colour, on a white or yellow ground; the principal points of the enrichment being the wide soffits of the arches.

In the early-pointed system of decoration, which

succeeded to the norman, the one great idea is the suggestion of a stone construction by red lines; each conventional stone being occupied by a rosette of some kind. But in this earlier work a more reasonable mode prevails: a great variety of geometrical diaper is employed, while breadth and simplicity of effect is never lost.

The most interesting portion of the work is the nave. Against each pier stood an altar, for which the wide plain reveal gives quite sufficient space.

I may notice in passing that it seems to have been the english custom to place the side-altars of the naves of churches against their piers. In Germany, and elsewhere, such altars are very commonly arranged in the midst of the aisles (as in the plan of St. Gall), or in some cases with their ends in contact with the lateral walls, as at Naumberg and Xanten. The usual french arrangement is to form distinct chapels between the buttresses of the aisles. Of this Melrose Abbey and the parish church of Scarborough, in Yorkshire, offer examples in our own island. The more typical english plan is illustrated by Lindisfarne and Durham, as also by the chantries of William of Wykeham, and of Cardinal Beaufort, at Winchester, and by numbers of similarly-placed chantry-altars in our cathedrals and parochial churches. At St. Alban's Abbey we have later examples of it in the chapels of abbats Walingford and Ramrydge, in the presbytery.

The altars against the piers of the nave were removed, in after times, to other parts of the church. Those which had stood against the piers, upon the south side of the nave, which fell in the year 1323, were not re-erected upon the re-building of this side of the church; but it is clear that those upon the north side, against the undisturbed norman piers, were not interfered with, as one of them is provided for (with some loss of symmetry, in consequence of the disappearance of his southern fellow) in the beautiful screen, which was erected shortly after the restoration of the fallen walls was completed.^z

^z This altar was known in the fifteenth century, as that of St. Benedict; as, however, this screen is traditionally known as St. Cuthbert's screen I suspect that this altar was originally dedicated in honour of this saint (possibly in conjunction with St. Benedict, thus combining the two great patrons of an english monk), as the dedications of the other three altars which stood against this most elegant screen are known (viz., St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Holy Cross, and the Blessed Virgin). If this conjecture be correct, this altar was, no doubt, founded by the fifteenth abbat (Richard D'Aubeny) early in the twelfth century. This worthy man, "qui beatum Cuthbertum multo semper excoluit amore, ejusque sepulchrum (at Durham) sæpius solitus fuerat invisere," had for a long while (says the anonymous author of the *Vita Sti. Cuthberti* given in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii iii. 117) had something amiss with his left hand, which prevented his saying mass, and which the surgeons could make nothing of. He was present in Durham at the translation of the saint's relics from the old saxon church into the new building (which is still one of the wonders of England), in the year 1104, and when the shrine was being lifted into its place upon its new feretry, the prior Turgot, who was standing upon the freshly made marble erection, in order to receive the body from those who had carried it in the procession, being in need of assistance to raise so heavy a weight, called to the abbat of St. Alban's

^y See the notice of this interesting work in a subsequent discursus.

Over each of these nave altars is painted a crucifixion, having below it a *predella* of smaller subjects, which have reference to the dedication of the particular altar.

I can scarcely conceive of anything finer than this series of paintings as viewed from the west-end of the church. The great mystery of the redemption of mankind preached thus, under varying aspects, again and again, from every pier produces an impression which no description can properly convey.^{aa} It is only upon the spot that its dignity can be really felt.

These paintings are not all of one date. They range, from the work of the original builders, down to the early part of the thirteenth century; but they are all treated on the same broad and simple system, and produce, both as to colour and treatment, a perfectly harmonious whole.

At Ely cathedral, which was rebuilt by Abbot Symeon, brother to the conqueror's chaplain, Walkelyn, and at Norwich cathedral, commenced by bishop Herbert de Losinga in 1096, there are also considerable remains of the original colouring.

In the galilee of Durham cathedral, over the site of the altar of the Piety, there are also to be seen remains of the paintings, of the twelfth century, which once adorned this altar. These are particularly valuable, as an example of norman decoration, owing to the beautiful preservation of the fragments which have been spared to us, and the amazing subtleness and delicacy of the colouring. In this respect they put to utter shame the hideous caricatures of early art, which may be seen in too many new, or "restored," churches.^{bb}

to get up quickly and help him. He, accordingly, mounted upon the feretry, and not thinking of his lame hand, assisted the prior to heave up the shrine and to set it in its place. No sooner had this been completed, than abbat Richard became aware that his hand was restored, and never after had he any pain or inconvenience from it. In gratitude for this recovery, he founded, at St. Alban's, an altar in honour of the northumbrian saint. (Cf. Eyre's "History of St. Cuthbert," p. 174.)

^{aa} We must add to these, in our imagination, the great rood which stood above the screen of St. Cuthbert. Beyond this, under the eastern arch of the tower, was erected, in later times, a second crucifix: a portion of the richly ornamented beam upon which this rested may still be seen, *in situ*. Still further eastward, in the great altar-screen, which bears the arms of abbat Whethamstede; a work which his *registrum* describes as "that most highly decorated, sumptuous, and lofty face of the high altar, which greatly adorns the church, and fills with pleasure the eyes of beholders, and to all who gaze upon it, is the most divine object in this kingdom" (i. 477, quoted in Mr. Ridgway Lloyd's "Account of the Altars, etc., existing, A.D. 1428, in St. Alban's Abbey," p. 43), there was yet another great image of the Crucified. The monks of St. Alban's expressed in the language of art, quite unmistakeably, the words of the apostle, "*Mihi absit gloriari, nisi in cruce domini nostri Jesu Christi.*"

^{bb} The complete design is thus described in the "Rites of Durham," p. 38:—"On the north syde of the saide Galleley was an alter, called the Lady of Pitties alter, with her picture carryinge our Saviour on hir knee, as he was taiken from the cross—a very dolorouse spectacle." There was further depicted, "above the alter, on the wall, the one part of our Saviour's passion, in great pictures, the other part being above Saynt Beedes alter on the south syde" of the galilee.

These and other fragments, to be found in different parts of the country, give us a good notion of what the effect of a norman interior was intended to be.

The decorative treatment which is thus exhibited is, in fact, identical with that of the Romans, namely—the enrichment of every part of the surface, whether of stone or plaster, by colour, generally upon a white or pale ochre ground, the forms of the decoration being for the most part geometrical. I remember seeing at Rome several houses, probably of the second century, which had just been uncovered. The colouring of their rooms was as fresh as when first put on. The houses were but small, and the decorations simple, and possibly somewhat rude, but both the system of enrichment and the tone of colour adopted was exactly what we may see to this day at St. Alban's, at Ely, or at Norwich.^{cc}

I have dwelt the more upon this finished character of norman decoration, because people are apt to regard the style as rude and even barbarous. Having carefully removed all the plastering and distemper work, with which the norman architects, deliberately, and in pursuance of the roman traditions, adorned their buildings, and having exposed the original tooling of the early masons, which was not their *forte*, we then enlarge upon the roughness of their work, and the barbarism of the age which produced it. Would any of our own drawing-rooms show as favourably if similarly treated?

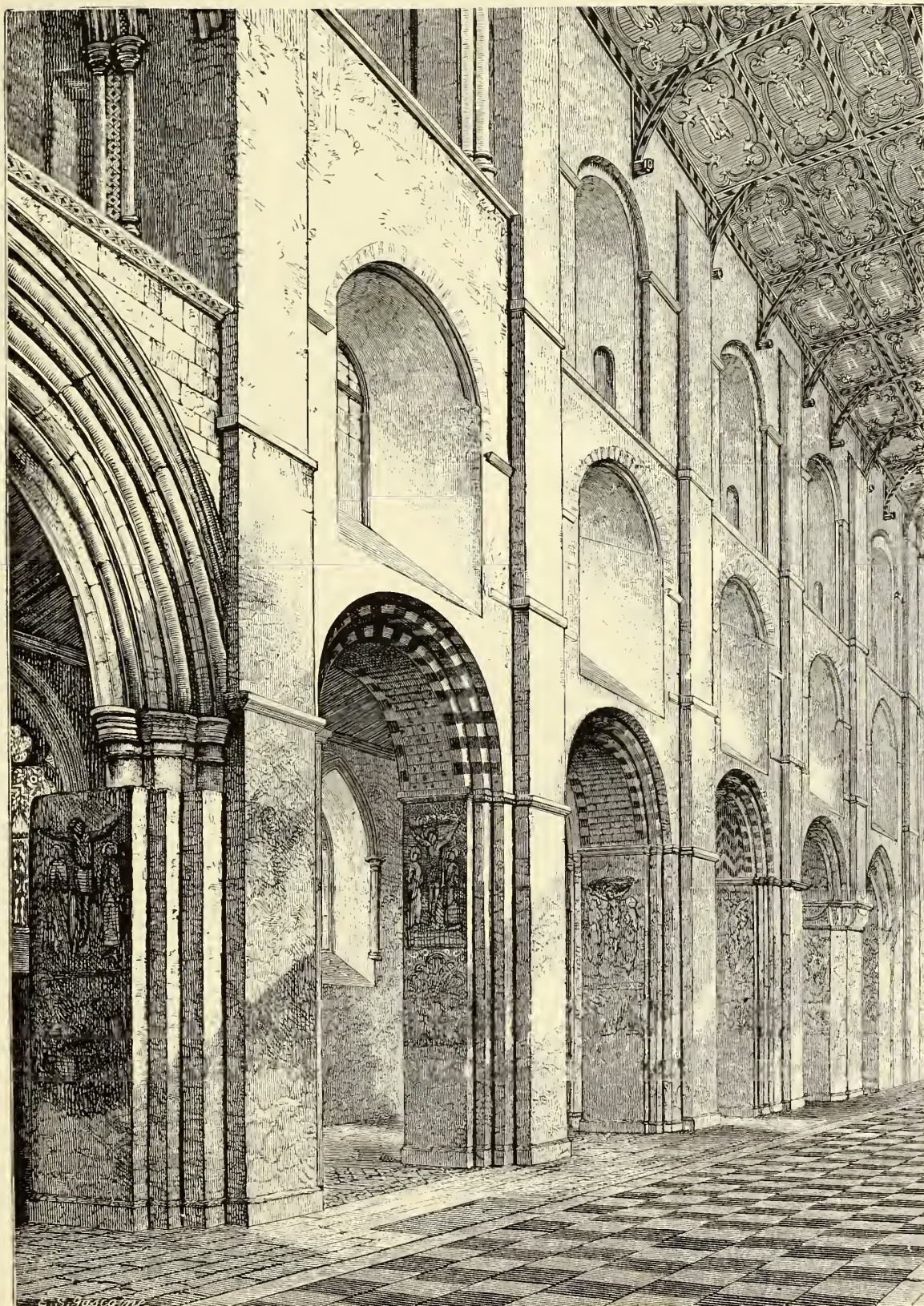
It is a fact that ever since civilization commenced it has been the custom to finish the interior of a building with all possible care, and our norman churches are no exception to the rule.

Every ancient edifice, whether of egyptian, greek, roman, or medieval times, was carefully faced internally with wrought stone, or with plaster, and decorated throughout in colour, or, it might be, encrusted with marbles and mosaic. The notion of leaving the interior of a building as rough and rugged as an exterior generally must be, has been from a very early date abandoned by civilized man.

In the interiors of our houses this tradition has never been broken. We still plaster them and decorate them, either by painting or with coloured paper, on the same principles, however badly applied, as those of a pompeian villa, or a medieval hall. Imagine a handsome apartment, say in Grosvenor square, "restored" upon the principle of a spurious truthfulness—its painted decorations, its enriched plaster-work all removed; and the naked, honest brickwork carefully pointed in coloured mortar:—after the application of such a process, it would not, I think, be fair to judge of the inten-

Those portions of the design in which the sufferings of the Lord, and the anguish of His mother, were represented, have, of course, been destroyed; but much of the merely decorative work, together with a figure of a bishop upon the southern reveal of the recess, are in an unusually complete state, and display a very remarkable refinement of colour.

^{cc} These houses were discovered only to be destroyed immediately afterwards, in order to enlarge the railway goods yard.



ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY-CHURCH.
NORTH SIDE OF THE NAVE.

tion of the architect who had designed the room, from the appearance which it might then present. Yet many of our ancient monuments have fared little better.

A norman interior so treated serves to illustrate the barbarism, not of the eleventh century, but of the nineteenth.

Before leaving St. Alban's I will mention, in order somewhat to relieve the dryness of our subject, a curious history which connects itself with that house. During the rule of the eighteenth abbat (Robert of Gorham), in the middle of the twelfth century, there lived in the parish of Langley, by Watford, a servant or tenant-farmer of the abbey, whose son, Nicholas, having a turn for letters, was desirous to become a monk. The lad accordingly underwent the usual examination, but he failed to pass the required standard, and was rejected as too ill-educated for the tonsure. We may well imagine the young man's chagrin, and his father's country gibes—"Better have stuck to the plough-tail, Nick, like your fathers before you, than have mazed your silly head with book-learning, all for naught."

Years pass on. In the course of the long struggle between the ecclesiastical and the civil jurisdictions, which is one of the most conspicuous events of the middle ages, Frederic Barbarossa, the greatest of the Hohenstaufen, and, after Charles the Great, the most famous ruler of the holy roman empire, is brought to admit that there is a power stronger even than his, and to humble himself so far as to hold the stirrup-iron of the man who wields that power, because he presides over and represents the holy roman church. That man is Nicholas—Nicholas Breakespeare—the farmer-lad of Langley, and the rejected of St. Alban's, now pope Adrian IV. The stone which the builders had disallowed, was become, indeed, the headstone of the corner.

Whatever view we may be disposed to take of the long struggle between the spiritual and the temporal powers, we—as Englishmen—cannot but feel a certain patriotic pride in the reflection that the only english pope, once a Hertfordshire yokel, was found more than a match for the most splendid of the sovereigns of Germany—the great Barbarossa.^{dd}

The first experiment of a pope of english blood was so successful, that one wonders that it has never been repeated.^{ee}

^{dd} There exists in Germany a sort of popular tradition that like Nero, Barbarossa is not dead, but that laid in weird slumber beneath the great Kyffhauserberg, he awaits the moment when his nation is to rise and shake off, with the help of his might, the fetters of christianity. Cf. Baring Gould's "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," p. 105, and Renan's "L'Ante-christ," p. 317.

^{ee} It went near to be repeated in 1550, when, upon the death of Paul III., Cardinal Pole might, had he wished it, have been elected to the sovereign pontificate. (Cf. Sander, "De origine et progressu schismatis Anglicani," tr. David Lewis, 1877, p. 202.) "The Life of Pole," published at Venice in 1563 (referred to in a note to the above), states that at the first scrutiny he wanted but two votes of the requisite majority. Harpsfield, in his "Treatise of Marriage" (quoted in the same place), states in so many words, "He was, by the car-

Let us turn now from St. Alban's, the chief among english religious houses, to Canterbury, which, while it was also monastic, was, beside this, the metropolitan church of the english hierarchy.^{ff}

We have already traced the history of this church down to the period of the norman invasion. We have seen that the romano-british church, restored and enlarged, in a very characteristic fashion, by St. Augustine, was standing at the time of the Conquest.^{gg}

In the year following the invasion, "and while," says Eadmer, "misfortunes were falling thick upon all parts of England, it happened that the city of Canterbury was set on fire by the carelessness of some individuals, and that the rising flame caught the mother-church thereof. How can I tell it?—the whole was consumed, as well as the church of blessed John Baptist,^{hh} wherein the remains of the archbishops were buried." "Now, after this lamentable fire, the bodies of the pontiffs rested undisturbed in their coffins for three years, until that most energetic and honourable man, Lanfranc, abbat of Caen, was made archbishop of Canterbury. And when he came to Canterbury, and found that the church of the Saviour, which he had undertaken to rule, was reduced to almost nothing by fire and ruin, he was filled with consternation. But, although the magnitude of the damage had well-nigh reduced him to despair, he yet took courage, and neglecting

dinals lawfully elected, for whose consent they stayed their election of any other person two whole months, a thing that was never read or heard of, I trow, before, in any pope's election, and yet could they not win his consent." Both Sander and Harpsfield attribute his reluctance to a desire to reserve himself to the service of his native country, "whose reformation he desired of all other things." "This thing," adds Harpsfield, "as it is of itself most notable, so it should be to us Englishmen most comfortable." Mr. Lewis's translation of Sander's work should be in the hands of every student of the english Reformation.

^{ff} York was not, as it appears, originally a metropolitan see. "The kings of Northumbria and Kent," says Dr. Hook ("Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," i., p. 157), "together with the other kings of the heptarchy, had determined to place all the churches of England under one metropolitan, the archbishop of Canterbury." The fact stated is, no doubt, correct, but the learned dean appears to have held that "the kingdom of heaven" is "of this world," and that secular princes (and by parity of reasoning, presidents of republics, and chairmen of local boards) are the fountains of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

^{gg} We have Eadmer's authority for the fact that the church was not destroyed in the danish invasion—"ecclesia ipsa in passione beatissimi martyris Elphegi nec igne consumpta nec tecto aut parietibus diruta fuit." The pagans profaned it, and despoiled it of many of its ornaments, and even attempted to set it on fire from the outside, in order to force the holy pontiff, who had taken refuge within the church, to come forth. But as soon as St. Ælphege had come out and surrendered himself, "omissis ignibus et aliis malis, quibus ad captionem illius occupabantur, ipsum, necatis aliquibus monachis in oculis ejus, abduxerunt." Edm., Epist. de Corp. S. Dunst. ii. 225, quoted in Willis's "Canterbury Cathedral," p. 8.

^{hh} This was, no doubt, a baptistery, and was situate to the east of the church. "Cuthbert (the eleventh archbishop, 740—750), among his other good works, constructed, to the east of the great church, and almost touching it, a church which he solemnly dedicated in honour of St. John Baptist." Eadmer, Vit. S. Bregwini, ii. 186, in Willis's "Canterbury," p. 2.

his own accommodation, he completed in all haste the buildings essential to the monks." "As for the church, which the aforesaid fire, combined with its age, had rendered completely unserviceable, he set about to destroy it utterly, and to erect a more noble one. And in the space of seven years, he raised this new church from the very foundations, and rendered it nearly perfect."ⁱⁱ

This rebuilding commenced, as was customary throughout the middle ages, at the eastern extremity of the church.^{jj} For, says Eadmer, "before the work began, Lanfranc commanded that the bodies of the saints which were buried in the eastern part of the church, should be removed to the western part, where the oratory of the blessed Virgin Mary stood."^{kk} The eastern part of the new church occupied therefore the site of the corresponding portion of the church of Augustine, and so the eastern apse, with its confessionary crypt, was removed to give place to the presbytery of the new building, which was elevated high upon a crypt of its own. As the new work progressed westward, it became necessary, as Eadmer tells us, to take down that venerable western apse, which was well-nigh as old as British Christianity itself.

Thus the church of Lanfranc stood upon the site of the old church, of which I have given the description in a previous chapter, and it is extremely probable that the high-altar and the crypt of the new building occupied, as was usual in such rebuildings, the same position as those which they replaced.

A curious confirmation of the accuracy of the interpretation which professor Willis has given of Eadmer's account of the ancient metropolitan cathedral, is afforded by the little village-church of Godmersham, some few miles to the south of Canterbury. It will be remembered that a peculiar feature of this church, as enlarged by St. Augustine, was the position of the towers, midmost of the length of the whole building. Of these, the southern one constituted the principal entrance of the church—"quod antiquitus ab Anglis et nunc usque *Suthdure*, dicitur;" and as it also contained an altar "in medio sui," dedicated in honour of St. Gregory the Great, Willis has conjectured that this altar must have been placed in an apse projecting from the eastern side of this tower.^l

Both the position of these towers, and the com-

bination of a tower and an apse, is most unusual, and while cold reasoning forced me to admit that the professor was right, imagination somewhat rebelled, I must confess, against the admission of an arrangement which, if it ever existed, must have been, as far as was known, unique. I was therefore greatly interested to find, but a few miles from Canterbury, and almost within sight of its towers, a little village-church in which these two peculiarities still exist. The tower of Godmersham church occupies the centre of the north side of the building (a very unusual position), and from its eastern side projects an apse, ceiled by a semi-dome. This work is of the very earliest Norman, resembling (except that flint rubble is used, instead of Roman bricks) the work of abbat Paul at St. Alban's. Now, it is true that in the quire at Canterbury, as rebuilt under the priors Ernulf and Conrad, there were, in the sweep of the great apse, two towers (of St. Andrew and Anselm respectively) having apses projecting from them, but these are not (like those of Eadmer's description, and that of Godmersham) placed "sub medio longitudinis aulæ ipsius," and—what is more to the purpose—they were not erected till after the opening of the twelfth century; whereas this work at Godmersham must, as is evident from its style, have been built within a very few years of the Conquest. I conclude, therefore, that it was erected immediately after that event, and before, "as the new work of the commenced church" at Canterbury "proceeded, it became necessary to take down the remainder of the old work" (that is, approximately before the year 1075), and in imitation of this venerable ruin. There is thus afforded a singular confirmation of the accuracy and precision of the learned professor's deductions from Eadmer's description of the Romano-Saxon cathedral.^{mmm}

All, however, that remained of this venerable monument disappeared in Lanfranc's rebuilding, although, as I have just pointed out, a tradition of these two flanking towers, with their projecting apses, seems to have survived the destruction of the old church, and to have suggested that unique arrangement of apsidal towers, which forms one of the peculiarities of the extension of the eastern limb of the church, which was carried out during the primacy of St. Anselm.

I have already observed that the church of Lanfranc appears to have resembled very closely in its plan and general arrangement that of St. Stephen, at Caen.ⁿⁿ Of the church, as thus rebuilt, there are still some remains, and the northern tower of Lanfranc's west front actually was in existence up to the year 1834, when the chapter, at great cost, destroyed this venerable monument, in order to

ⁱⁱ Eadmer, in Willis's "Canterbury," pp. 9, 13, 14.

^{jj} Most of our great churches underwent, during these ages, an almost uninterrupted course of rebuilding, which, beginning at the east end, travelled slowly down to the west; and when it had finished there, re-commenced where it had, a century or so before, begun. This uniform movement of the wave of restoration was arrested finally, and—as it were—in an instant, by the Reformation, and our cathedrals have come down to us of the present day, exactly as that event found them, saving only—and it is a wide exception—the havoc then, and since, wrought in them.

^{kk} Eadmer, in Willis's "Canterbury," p. 15.

^l It is accordingly thus shown upon my plan, which is but a very slightly modified version of that which was worked out by this truly masterly antiquary.

^{mmm} The rest of this church has been so done to death by "restoration," that it is impossible now to ascertain whether there was here, as at Canterbury, a corresponding tower upon the other side of the nave.

ⁿⁿ A plan of this church is given in my father's "Lectures," ii., p. 98: it may be compared with that which I give of Lanfranc's church, from Willis's "Canterbury Cathedral," p. 38.

FIG. I.

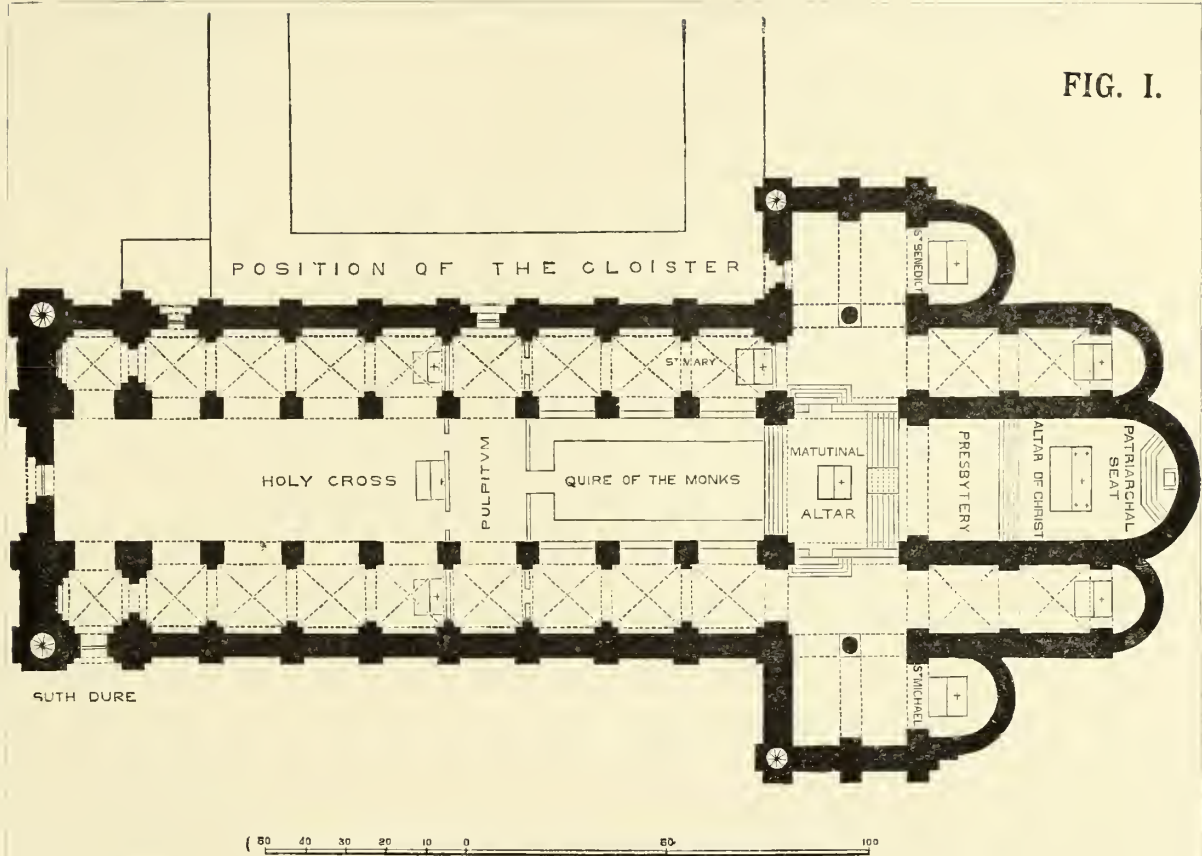


FIG. II.

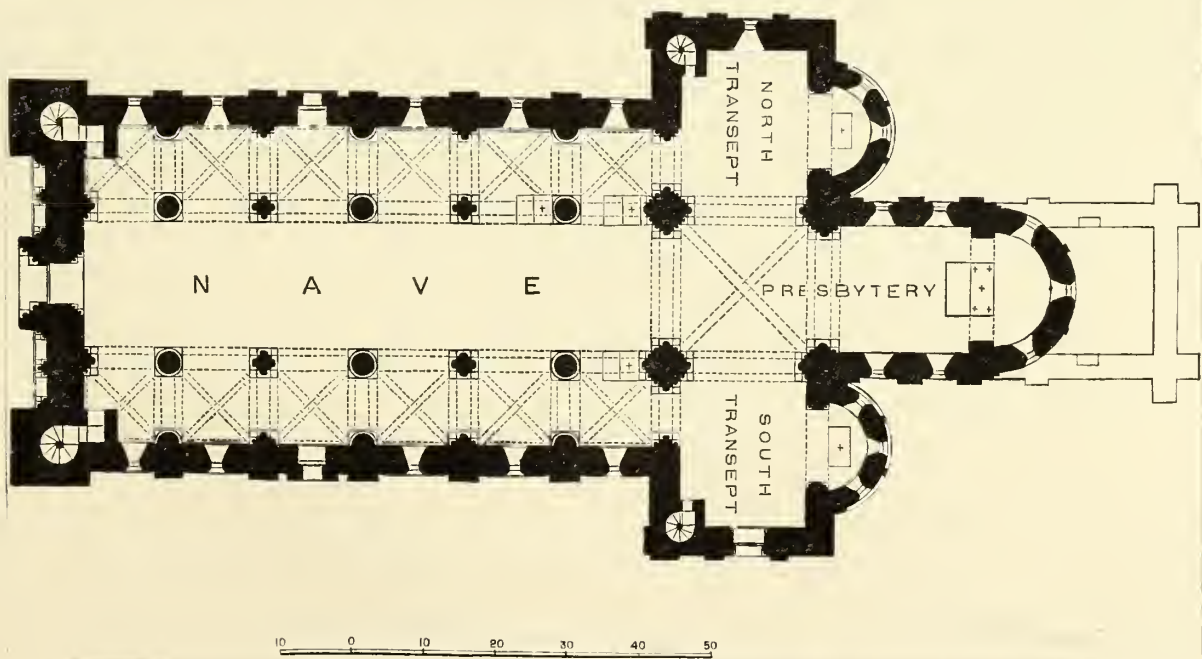


FIG. I. PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CANTERBURY, AS REBUILT BY A.B.P. LANFRANC (A.D. 1070—77).

FIG. II. PLAN OF THE PRIORY-CHURCH OF LINDISFARNE.

erect a nineteenth-century duplicate of prior Goldston's fifteenth-century southern tower.

The monk, Gervase, has given us a complete and detailed account of this church, so far as it existed in his time—*i.e.*, subsequent to the alterations effected in its eastern limb under the priors Ernulf and Conrad;—but of the arrangements of this part of the church previous to these alterations, he confesses himself to be wholly ignorant. "You must know," he says, "good reader, that I never saw the quire of Lanfranc, neither have I been able to meet with any description of it." Gervase, as professor Willis remarks,⁸⁰ was at Canterbury in 1170, the year of Becket's martyrdom, and the eastern arm of Lanfranc's church had been pulled down about seventy years before. In this time, as it seems, all tradition of its arrangement had vanished.

The dimensions of this, the metropolitan church of all England, were somewhat smaller than those of the monastic church of duke William's foundation at Caen. The breadth between the walls of the nave of St. Stephen is seventy-three feet, which is one foot greater than at Canterbury. The width of the central alley was apparently less at Canterbury than at Caen, and while the ceiling at Canterbury was sixty-three feet above the pavement of the church, that at Caen was about seventy feet.

Lanfranc's church, as we have already seen, possessed—what St. Stephen's did not—a crypt; but no part of the present crypt can, as it would appear, belong to his church; unless, indeed, some of its columns may have been re-erected in new positions in the later crypt.

The quire of the monks was situate, not in the eastern limb, but, as in all early churches, and in pursuance of the basilican tradition, in the eastern bays of the nave,—as at Hereford, Rochester, Norwich, Gloucester, Winchester, Chichester, St. Alban's, and formerly at Ely, Worcester, and Peterborough,—while the crypt was confined to the presbytery (or eastern arm of the cross), as the crypts never extended under the central towers.⁸¹

The transepts were galleried, so that the apsidal chapels, which projected from their eastern faces, had in them altars on two floors. "The great tower," says Gervase, "had a transept from each side—to wit, a south transept, and a north transept—each of which had in its midst a strong pillar: this pillar sustained a vault which proceeded from the walls on three of its sides." In the south transept this gallery was occupied, in part, by the organ.⁸²

⁸⁰ "Canterbury Cathedral," p. 42, footnote.

⁸¹ The English eastern crypts are Canterbury, York, Winchester, Gloucester, Rochester, and Worcester, all refounded before the year 1085. To these may be added Lasingham and St. Peter's, Oxford. Hexham has a saxon crypt of a very remarkable character, which, no doubt, occupied the eastern extremity of the saxon church. I have already referred to the similarly-placed crypts at Brixworth, Wing, and Repton. The lady-chapel at Hereford is an example of the same feature, of first-pointed date. Wimborne minster has one, rather later in date, but still within the same century; and Madeley church, in Herefordshire, has one, of the fourteenth century—a very rare case.

⁸² Mason, the poet, in his essay on instrumental church

Such transeptal galleries were not uncommon in the early churches of Normandy. They occur in the abbey churches of St. Stephen's at Caen, of Cerisy, and of Fecamp, in the cathedral of Seez, and in the church of St. George, at Boscherville. In our own country the cathedrals of Winchester and Ely afford examples of the same arrangement."

This is almost all that we know of our metropolitan cathedral, as re-constructed by the first of the Norman archbishops, and it is interesting to compare the plan of the new church, with that of the older one, which was pulled down to give it place.

There is, between the two, one essential difference of ritual arrangement, and one of constructional design.

In Lanfranc's church the western apse—"the oratory of Mary, the blessed mother of God," that venerable relic of a christianity older than that of St. Augustine—had finally disappeared.

His church, too, possessed a feature which the older building had not, and which is wholly alien to the basilican idea, namely, a central tower.

The transept of an early basilica was virtually a transverse nave. The nave opened into it by an arch, and a corresponding arch opened from it into the great apse. But there were no transverse arches connecting these two, and consequently no true cruciformity of plan, and no possibility of a central tower, to be carried up from the intersection of these two naves. Lanfranc's church is therefore basilican as regards the position of its ritual choir, but completely un-basilican in the treatment of its transepts, and in the position of its principal campanile.⁸³

music, gives the following translation of a description by Wolstan, the learned monk of Winchester, of an astounding organ erected in that church more than a century earlier (in 951) by Elpheg, then bishop of that see:—

"Twelve pair of bellows, ranged in stated row,
Are joined above, and fourteen more below:
These the full force of seventy men require,
Who ceaseless toil and plentifully perspire,
Each aiding each, till all the wind be pressed
In the close confines of th' incumbent chest,
On which four hundred pipes in order rise,
To bellow forth that blast the chest supplies."

"This arrangement was suggested,—with the view of providing a fitting place (as in Lanfranc's Canterbury) for the organ,—in the case of St. Mary's episcopal cathedral in Edinburgh. As the consequence of the rejection of this suggestion, the floor of the north transept of this fine church is entirely taken up by a monster music-mill, and the proportions of the interior are completely sacrificed to the prevailing mania for noise. One is tempted to exclaim with Erasmus (in the *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*), "*Quorsum attinent organorum, quæ vocant, immensi sumtus?—quorsum ille musicus hinnitus, magno censu conducendus?*"

⁸³ It is an important and interesting observation that the cruciform plan was not the original type of a christian church. This form was only arrived at after some ten centuries of development, and then its evolution was determined, not by symbolical, but by constructional considerations. As far as I can judge, but few features of an ancient church were dictated by symbolism. Symbolism is always, and fitly, *ex post facto*. All churches were built by practical men, and were planned and contrived to meet the practical requirements of cere-

From Canterbury and St. Alban's—two of the greatest of english benedictine houses—it is natural to turn to Durham, of which the monastic history connects itself with that early celtic christianity which was crushed indeed, but not destroyed, by the triumph of our pagan ancestors.^u If the former churches remind us of the work of St. Gregory and St. Augustine, of the labours of the italian missionaries, of Subiaco and Monte Casino; Durham takes our thoughts back to a rule other than that of St. Benedict, to St. Aidan and the celtic evangelists, to the Holy Island among the Hebrides, and to him, to whom it owes its christian name, the great Columba.^{uu}

It was by the instrumentality of a monk from this celtic house that the saxon Oswald, during his banishment among the Picts, became a convert to the faith, and it was from this monastery that St. Aidan came, by Oswald's invitation, upon his accession to the throne of Northumbria,^{vv} to confer upon his subjects the blessings of the religion which their sovereign had first learned to value in the school of adversity.

A result of this mission was the establishment of the bishopric and monastery of Lindisfarne,^{ww} the cradle of the see of Durham.

monial and of construction. Then—with that beautiful consonance that is ever to be noted in human affairs—what honest practice found necessary, pious meditation saw to be also symbolical of very deep mysteries.

^u I do not wish to be understood as regarding the english nation, of the ages preceding the norman conquest, as by any means purely teutonic. I have no doubt that the old british blood contributed very materially to form the stock from which we, English, have come. A tribe of roving marauders, crossing the sea in boats, probably not much larger than our own man-of-war's launches, does not encumber itself with its women: a few would, no doubt, be brought, but the proportion of males to females in every such expedition must necessarily have been very high. [See the curious account given in Bede ("Eccles. Hist.," i. 1). "The nation of the Picts (from Scythia, as is reported) putting to sea in a few long ships, being driven by the winds, arrived on the northern coasts of Ireland, where, finding the nation of the Scots, they begged to be allowed to settle among them. Now the Picts had no wives, and asked them of the Scots, who would only consent to grant them upon these terms: that whenever any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race, rather than from the male—which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day."] The males of the conquered race might, perhaps, have been, in many parts of Britain, exterminated, but we may be quite sure that the females were not. The women were among the most valued prizes of war, and our english stock, which is derived from sires of angle, jute, saxon, and danish blood, had british and celtic mothers. Like all strong races, we are a crossed breed, and our native church architecture well illustrates this truth, which only a doctrinaire historian can mistake.

^{uu} Iona—in Gaelic, "the island of the waves"—became Icolmkill, the cell or monastery of Columba, who landed here from Ireland, with twelve companions, in the year 563, in order to convert to the faith the inhabitants of these western isles.

^{vv} Northumbria included the whole of what is now the north of England, together with the lowlands of Scotland. It extended from the Forth to the Humber.

^{ww} Lindisfarne is an island on the east coast of Northumbria, about ten miles south of Berwick. It was chosen, no doubt, both on account of its seclusion, and also of its proximity to Oswald's royal home at Bamborough.

Aidan erected there the first church, in the year 635. His successor, Finan, replaced this, merely temporary, structure by one "*sedi episcopali congrua*,"^{xx} but this, too, was only of timber, thatched with rushes. In this simple building St. Cuthbert had his episcopal throne during that short, but memorable, episcopate of little more than two years (685—688) which has associated his name, for all time, with the christianity of the north of England.

Cuthbert was, no doubt, of saxon blood, as his name itself indicates, and as Bede, in his metrical life of the saint, seems to imply;^{yy} though the author of the "*Rites of Durham*"^{zz} states that he was "said to be descended from the blood-royal of the kings of Ireland, being the son of one Muriardach and Sabina, his wife, who was daughter to a king there."

Parentage, however, is of little consequence in the history of one who became illustrious as "*a citizen of no mean city*,"—the *civitas dei*,—and who has made for himself such a mark in the history of english christianity.

The noble character which impressed all who were brought in contact with him in life, and the prodigies, attested in the most remarkable manner, which, from age to age, were wrought by his honoured remains, have to this day their witness in the especial dignity still attaching to the see of Durham, and in the glorious church which was erected four centuries after his death, and which, to this day, after another eight centuries have passed away, is still the delight and the wonder of all who have visited and prayed within its venerable walls.

St. Cuthbert was the sixth bishop of Lindisfarne.^{aaa} He was succeeded by Eadbert, who covered Finan's timber church, both roof and walls, with lead,—"*ablata arundine, plumbi laminis eam totam, hoc est et tectum et ipsos parietes co-operire curavit*,"^{bbb}

Then began the miseries of the danish incursions, and the faithful of Lindisfarne, in obedience to the directions which Cuthbert, with a truly prophetic foresight of the coming troubles, had given upon his deathbed, bore away his body into the mountainous districts of Cumberland and Westmoreland.^{ccc}

^{xx} Cf. Turgot's "*Libellus de Exordio Dunhelmensis Ecclesie*" (Bedford, 1732), p. 87, in "*The History of St. Cuthbert*," by the Very Rev. Monsignor C. Eyre (Burns, 1849), to which work I shall have frequently to refer. Turgot's history passes under the name of "*Symeon Dunhelmensis*."

^{yy} Bede was fourteen years of age at the time of the saint's death, and was thus one of St. Cuthbert's flock.

^{zz} "A description or breife declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites, and customs belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression, written in 1593." (Surtees Society), p. 55.

^{aaa} He was consecrated at York on Easter-day, 685, by Archbishop Theodore. Cf. "*Anglo-Saxon Chron.*" (Bohn's ed., p. 329.)

^{bbb} "*Symeon Dunhelm.*," p. 27.

^{ccc} Monsignor Eyre says ("*History of St. Cuthbert*," p. 78): "Probably in giving this order about his body, the holy man had in his mind the last words of Joseph, who, when dying in Egypt, spoke to his brethren, and 'made them swear to him, saying, God will visit you: carry my bones with you out of this place' (Gen. i. 24). It is interesting to note, in this connection, the following from "*The Rites of*

Here, and in other parts of the district similarly inaccessible to the savage pagan invaders, they wandered, bearing about with them their sacred burden, during seven years (875—883).

With this weary exodus we are not here concerned, but I cannot forego, in passing, to quote the following touching description of this strange journeying.^{ddd}

"St. Cuthbert was borne about, for the space of seven whole years, to and fro, upon the shoulders of pious men, through trackless and waterless places, and when no house afforded him a hospitable roof, he remained under the covering of tents. How blessed were those dwellers in tents that sheltered so illustrious a guest. How happy the shoulders that were found worthy to bear so sweet a burden. Truly they that bore the weight of such a burden were perfectly initiated in the hope of the heavenly sweetness. They who performed so heavenly a work of mercy were already made partakers with him of the heavenly glory. They might be called the 'lowing kine' of which we read in the Book of Kings (1 Sam. vi. 12), which, bearing the ark of God upon a cart, took it the straight way that leadeth from the land of the Philistines to Bethsames, where the Bethsamites were reaping wheat in the valley. For might they not be truly called the 'kine that have calved' (v. 7), who for the love of St. Cuthbert left their children and their wives, and yoked themselves to carry his venerable body? They 'lowed,' indeed, for the love of the pledges which they had left at home, and at the same time, daily and hourly, with entreaties and tears, begged the prayers of Cuthbert for their safety and their well-being. 'Turning not aside, to the right hand or to the left' (v. 12), they came to Bethsames—*i.e.*, the house of the sun—bearing the coffin with his incorrupt body, according to the orders of the bishop and his brethren, whithersoever he bade them. For the house of the sun of righteousness is the monastery of that existing holy church, which, in the valley of humility, possesses the blessed Cuthbert, while she retains, too, his meek precepts; and in the valley of humble conversation reaps the seed of the virtue of justice, while she imitates his example, and follows his teaching."

This long wandering was terminated by the victories of Alfred, which restored peace to the christians of the north of England; and the church in which the remains of the saint at last rested, and in

which the episcopal *sedes* was then established, was that of Chester-le-Street, about six miles to the north of Durham. Here a wooden church was erected by the bishop Eardulf, which remained standing until the year 1045, when it was replaced by a stone edifice, by the directions of bishop Ægelric.

The body of the saint rested at Chester-le-Street for one hundred and thirteen years, till, in the year 995, the incursions of the Danes again drove the bishop Aldhune and his clergy from their quiet home. This second wandering appears to have lasted only a few months. It seems to have been the intention of the bishop to deposit the remains of the saint at Ripon, beside the body of St. Wilfrid, but the danish war ceasing, the brethren set out to return to Chester-le-Street. For no assignable reason, however (if we reject the miraculous incident related by Turgot,^{eee} and by the author of the "Rites of Durham"^{fff}), they stopped a few miles short of their natural destination, and established themselves upon the hill of Durham, then an *inculta tellus*, though having in its midst a small plain which was under tillage.

Here was erected a temporary chapel (*ecclesiola*) of boughs. This was upon the site of the cloister of the existing church, "in the cloister garth, over against the parlour door, where through the monncks was carried to be buried, which is now maid a register house,"^{ggg} and the memory of its exact position has thus been preserved to our own day. Bishop Aldhune (Alwinus) at once set to work to erect a more permanent building.

Concerning this church, into which the body of the saint was solemnly translated in the year 999, the monk Reginald, writing in the twelfth century, has left us the following valuable information.

"In the white church" (for so was Aldhune's building termed, either from its being built of stone, or perhaps from its being whitewashed externally, as was common in early times^{hhh}) "there were two towers of stone, as has been related to us by those who had seen it, rising high in air. One of these contained the choir, but the other stood at the western extremity of the church, and they bore upon their summits brazen pinnacles of extraordinary size."

The arrangement of the church, is thus clearly indicated. It had its choir, not in the eastern limb, but in accordance with the basilican traditions, as worked out in the course of the early middle ages, under the crossing bay. It had also the single western tower, a peculiarly english feature, for which we are not indebted to Italy or to Rome. Reginald also mentions the enriched flat ceiling, *artificiosa celatura*, which is again an inheritance from the basilica, and very characteristic—as I have

Durham" (p. 3): "In the south alley end of the nine altars there is a good glazed window" (the southern wheel-window), "the which hath in it all the storye, life, and miracles of that holy man, St. Cuthbert. In the north alley of the said nine altars there is another goodly faire great glass window" (the northern wheel-window), "called Joseph's window, the which hath in it all the whole story of Joseph, most artificially wrought in pictures, in fine coloured glass, according as it is sett forth in the Bible, very good and godly to the beholders thereof."

^{ddd} "Reginaldi Monachi Dunhelmensis Libellus," Surtees Soc., 1835, cap. xiv., p. 20., given in Eyre's "St. Cuthbert," p. 101.

^{eee} "Symeon Dunhelm.," p. 141.

^{fff} p. 61.

^{ggg} "Rites of Durham," p. 59.

^{hhh} "We find St. Wilfrid glorying in having washed the York minster of his day 'whiter than snow;' and at Peterborough it was the boast of one of the saxon abbats, that he had so skilfully whitewashed his cathedral, that it appeared as if cut out of a single stone." Cf. my father's "Lectures," ii., p. 99.

more than once had occasion to observe—of the early medieval churches, and to a certain extent of our english church architecture all through its history.

“When Harold lost his crown, and William possessed himself of the throne of England, the men of Northumbria, who were always opposed to innovations, as well in state as in church, for three years refused him allegiance. Not being able to subdue them by means of his generals, the Conqueror undertook the task in person, in the year 1069. The same year he advanced as far as York with his army, laying waste all the country.”ⁱⁱⁱ

In consequence of these events the bishop Egelwine deemed it prudent to retire, bearing with him the venerated remains of St. Cuthbert, thus a third time a wanderer, to the church of Lindisfarne, at this time half-ruined by the Danes.^{jjj}

These troubles, however, were soon at an end, and in the following year (1070) the bishop and his monks returned to Durham, solemnly reconciled the white church, and entering it on the 24th day of March, deposited the body of the saint in its former resting-place. Thus ended the third, and last, flight made with St. Cuthbert's body.

Aldhune's church was served by secular canons, who, however, appear to have followed, in the church services, the monastic customs of Lindisfarne.^{kkk} In 1082 bishop Carleph, the second norman prelate, with the sanction of pope Gregory VII., removed the canons, and replaced them by benedictine monks from Wearmouth and Jarrow. In the year 1093 he commenced the erection of the still existing church, which was consecrated by his successor upon the feast of the behead of St. John Baptist (August 29th), in the year 1104.

Of this event a very interesting account is preserved in the *Historica Narratio*, printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, one portion of which I will venture to introduce here. “When all, in their exultation, had solemnly sung the *Te Deum* (in the saxon church), and everything that was necessary had been prepared with due respect, the holy body of the saint was raised upon the shoulders of the bearers, and the voices of the singers sounded, chanting heavenly hymns in honour of Almighty God. Shrines containing the relics of the other saints were carried first in the procession: last was borne the venerable body of the blessed bishop Cuthbert.

ⁱⁱⁱ Eyre's “St. Cuthbert,” p. 125.

^{jjj} The descendants of those who had taken a part in one or other of these three exodus were known, ever after, as the Haliwork folk. It was their privilege to keep and defend the corpse of St. Cuthbert, and in consideration of this service they could not be called upon to go out of the bishopric to fight either for king or bishop. Cf. Eyre's “St. Cuthbert,” p. 131.

^{kkk} Lindisfarne—colonised, as we have seen, in the first instance by monks from Iona—followed originally the monastic rule of St. Patrick, which St. Columba had brought with him from Ireland. In later times it had become benedictine. The same course had been adopted at Canterbury, where the rule established by St. Augustine was that of St. Gregory, which differed from others, in assigning to study the hours devoted by other religious orders to manual labour. Cf. Eyre's “St. Cuthbert,” p. 14.

“As this was carried out through the door (of Aldhune's church), with all the pomp of a splendid ceremonial, the crowd of people, who were waiting for it in the open air, burst into tears of joy, and all pressed toward it, so that the bearers of the holy body could scarcely move for the crowd, and the voices of the singers were drowned by the loud and mingled sounds proceeding from those that prayed, that exulted, and that wept for joy. When they had gone round the outside of the new church they halted at its eastern end, and the bishop preached there a sermon; while those that stood by him explained to all the assembled people that they had seen and had touched^{lll} the miraculous body that had continued incorrupt for 418 years. With fresh joy they thanked God for vouchsafing to reward their devotion with so great a manifestation of heavenly grace. The day was now considerably advanced, and the bishop, weaving into his discourse many things that had no reference to the occasion, wearied not a few with the length of his sermon. The sky had before this been so bright that there was no appearance of rain in the heavens: yet, on a sudden, the rain fell so copiously that the brethren interrupted the discourse, lifted up the coffin that contained the holy body, and carried it in haste into the church. When it had been borne in, the rain immediately ceased, as if to show that it was not God's will that the holy body of His servant should be kept so long out of holy ground.”^{mmm} —

The church then consecrated was not completed until many years later, but it still remains to us, with only one important exception, just as it was when finished, and it is undoubtedly the noblest and the most complete example of the early norman style which our country possesses. This church is too well known to need illustration here,ⁿⁿⁿ but certain points seem to call for remark.

The first is the question, whether the church was originally designed to have its central division (of quire, transepts, and nave) vaulted. I have come myself to the conclusion that it was not, but the problem is not without its difficulties.

We must remember that the anterior presumption is in favour of a flat, boarded, ceiling. With the single exception of the little chapel erected by Gundulph in the keep of London, no church in England at this date, or for many a year later, had its central areas ceiled in stone. In the next place all the vaults of the central spaces are pointed in

^{lll} Viz., both on that very morning, and also upon the previous examination of the remains, which had taken place a few days earlier.

^{mmm} It is interesting to remark that the preacher who thus wearied the patience of his auditors, was the notorious Ralph Flambard, the unscrupulous minister of an equally notorious king (Rufus). This is, as far as I know, the only instance on record of a miraculous intervention to put an end to a too-tedious sermon. One might wish it less rare.

ⁿⁿⁿ Cf. my father's “Lectures,” ii., p. 127, *et seq.*, where a plan, together with sketches of the architecture of the norman church, is given. A very complete plan, showing the position (in the 15th century) of all the altars, is given in Eyre's “St. Cuthbert,” p. 207.

section, and those of the eastern limb have the early english dog-tooth ornament. Apart from the existence of what would seem to be intended to serve as vaulting-shafts, the design of the clerestory does not at all suggest an intention to groin the central spaces. Even in the existing vaults there are no wall-ribs; and it is remarkable that that portion of the church which appears (from the mouldings of its vaulting-ribs) to have been the first in which the wide central area was groined in stone—the north transept—is precisely that in which the evidence of a design to ceil in wood is the most unmistakable.

We must remember that whether a flat boarded ceiling, or a stone vault, was intended, in either case the external and high-pitched roof would have been erected first, and that upon its completion the church could be at once used for purposes of worship.

The aisles were, beyond all question, designed to be vaulted, yet the section of the groin-ribs of the choir-aisles, and of the two aisle-bays west of the crossing, is the same with those of the transepts, which, as there is sufficiently clear evidence, were from the first planned to be ceiled in wood.

It thus appears that although the aisles were designed to be groined in stone, this work was not actually carried into execution, even as far as two bays west of the crossing, before a departure from the original design of the transepts had been decided on.

In those parts of the aisles which were thus the first to be groined, the transverse section of the vault is a semi-circle, while the diagonal ribs, which would—theoretically—form an ellipse, are set out to a segmental-circular curve. In the quire and nave, however, the diagonal ribs form a semi-circular curve, while that of the transverse arches (the true section of the vault) is of a segmental-pointed sweep. The cause of this somewhat ungraceful line is to be attributed to the fact, already noticed, that the timber roofs, with their tie-beams, had been erected long before, and thus imposed, in the central spaces, a limit of height, which was felt (by the later architect) as a restriction here, although in the aisles, always designed to be vaulted, they allowed amply all the height required.

It, therefore, seems clear that at the time at which the wooden roofs were executed, and the church (in great part) became serviceable for the purposes for which it was erected, it was the intention to vault its aisles, but to ceil in wood its central spaces.

Some arguments may, however, be adduced in favour of a contrary conclusion. The first is the singular narrowness of the nave and quire of the church, in proportion to its aisles. This becomes the more remarkable when we observe that the transepts are some eight or nine feet wider, although the width of their eastern aisle is precisely the same as that of the nave-aisles. Now it is in the transepts—so exceptionally wide, as regards the other members of the cross—that the evidence of an intention to ceil in wood is the most obvious.

Again, the piers are alternately cylindrical and clustered, the clustered piers having three shafts on either side (north and south), which, toward the aisles, carry the vaulting-ribs, but which, toward the central areas, would have had nothing to bear unless vaulting was intended, here, as in the aisles.

This alternation of circular piers, bearing the wall above and the springers of the aisle-vaulting, with clustered columns, designed, apparently, to receive the springers of the great central vault, suggests at once the *sex-partite* system of groining. Unfortunately, however, it can be proved that this system was not in the mind of the original designer.

In the first place, owing to the narrowness of the nave and quire (in relation to the width of their respective bays), the double severies are very much longer from east to west than from north to south, and thus the very difficulty of an oblongated plan, which it was the object of the *sex-partite* scheme to evade, is created by the very arrangement which appears, at first sight, to be dictated by it.

In the next place, this duplicate distribution of the piers is interrupted at the western extremity of the church, by the occurrence of a single bay.

The nave consists of three double-bays and a half. "This," says my father,^{ooo} "seems an imperfection, for four couplets, clear of the tower-bay, would appear a more perfect arrangement." More than this, a definite number of couplets is essential to the *sex-partite* arrangement.

The question is rendered still more puzzling by reference to the church of Lindisfarne, Durham's "little sister," as regards architectural style, although her mother in point of historical fact. This church, of which the ruins still exist, exhibits a similar alternation of cylindrical and clustered piers,^{ppp} but it is obvious from the arrangement of the latter, as well as from the distribution of the whole design, that it was never intended to vault its central areas.

It appears from the charters of bishop Carileph, that remains of the old saxon church upon the Holy Island were in existence in 1084. The priory church, which now stands in ruins, was begun by him in the same year in which he commenced his great work at Durham, and like that, it was completed under his successor, Ralph Flambard. "From the time of its completion until the time of its suppression" (by Henry VIII.), "the mother-church of Durham appointed for her branch-house at Holy Island a regular succession of priors and of monks."^{qqq}

This church is, therefore, particularly interesting as having been erected by the same prelates to whom we owe that greater church which, "huge and vast, looks down upon the Wear." I give a plan of it; and a comparison of its remains with the

^{ooo} "Lectures on Medieval Architecture," ii., p. 127.

^{ppp} Cf. the plan which I give from Eyre's "St. Cuthbert," p. 229; and the views in Britton's "Architectural Antiquities," iv., p. 58.

^{qqq} Eyre's "St. Cuthbert," p. 229.

cathedral of Durham leads to the conclusion that the original designer of both had, in planning the larger church, no very clear notion of how the central areas were to be ceiled. At Lindisfarne he was quite sure that vaulted groins were beyond the means of the community, and he designed the church accordingly. At Durham, he did not expect that means would ever be available for groining the transepts, and he therefore planned those of the usual ample width. But the central spaces of the choir and of the nave, he hoped, might some day be vaulted in, although he was, probably, himself uncertain as to how this could be done, and he accordingly set out these parts with a comparatively narrow span, and provided, in the design of the alternate piers, shafts which might serve for vaulting should it ever be found possible to cover in with stone so wide a space. The vaulting was not actually completed until about 1240, nearly 150 years later.

The next feature to which I would draw attention is the singular flutings—vertical, spiral, and cancellated—which ornament the massive cylindrical columns which alternate with the clustered piers. Much of the awful weirdness of this tremendous interior is due to these strange and colossal decorations. I am convinced that they are to be traced to the traditions of saxon art. Unquestionably the three churches which most conspicuously exhibit them—Waltham,^{xxx} Lindisfarne, and Durham—are precisely those in which we should expect to find saxon influence unusually strong.

The last point to be mentioned, is the question of the original form of the eastern end of the norman church. In the case both of Lindisfarne and of Durham, this has given place, in later times, to a rectangular termination, which is, in the latter church, formed by that magnificent eastern transept known as "the chapel of the nine altars."

The question therefore arises, was the church of Carileph terminated with three apses, as at St. Alban's; or was the aisle continued, as a procession path, around a central apse, as in Gundulph's chapel in the White Tower, at Norwich, at Bury, and elsewhere? The doubt might be easily set at rest by excavation, but at present the evidence upon the point is imperfect. I am myself inclined to believe, after a careful examination upon the spot, that the aisle was carried round the great apse.

That there was an apse is clear, not only from the very strong presumption arising from what is

known of other early norman churches, but from some pieces of direct evidence.

The first is the actual existence of indications of a circular sweep in the pavement of the saint's chapel, which occupied the eastern portion of the norman church. The next is a peculiarity in the treatment of the external wall-arcading of the aisle-walls in the bays which, north and south, abut upon the eastern transept. The third is a curious passage in the "Rites of Durham" (p. 3): "Next to these nine altars was the goodly monument of Saint Cuthbert, adjoyninge to the quire^{sss} and the high altar on the west side, reachinge towards the nine altars on the east, and toward the north and south containinge the breadth of the quire, in *quadrant form*, in the midst whereof his sacred shrine was exalted," etc.

To a proper appreciation of this statement, we must remember that the area of the saint's chapel is raised (as at Westminster) some six feet above the floor-level of the adjacent aisles, and of the eastward transept. It appears from this passage to have projected eastward into the chapel of the nine altars in a semi-circular form.

So unusual an arrangement admits of only one explanation. When, in the thirteenth century, the apse of Carileph's church was removed, the "quadrant form" which it had imposed was retained, and so continued within the memory of our author, who wrote in 1593. The position of the shrine, indeed, which is marked, to this day, by a slab of Frosterley marble, was such that it was impossible but that the raised area, upon which it stood, should project into the chapel of the nine altars in some form or another,^{xxx} and the fact that the shrine stood so far to the eastward of the raised area, inclines me to the conviction that there was, in the original norman plan, a circumscribed aisle.^{uuu}

In the account of the cure of abbat Richard d'Aubeny, to which I have already referred, there occurs incidentally, a notice of the *feretrum*, or substructure of marble upon which the shrine itself

^{sss} It would, as I think, tend to clearness, if we were habitually to speak of that portion of the fabric of a church in which the choir have their station as the *quire*, reserving the word *choir* for the body of clerics who occupy the same.

^{xxx} It has now lost its "quadrant form," by additions which have brought it to a rectangular contour, but its eastern extremity is still, as ever, advanced some fifteen feet into the eastern transept. When this alteration of plan took place, I am not aware. During the middle ages the circular sweep of the elevated area was surmounted by a grille of ironwork, upon the top of which were wrought "very fine candlesticks of iron, like unto socketts, which had light set in them before day, that every monke might have the more light to see to read upon their bookes at the said nine altars when they said masse, and also to give light to all others that came thither to heare and see the divine service" ("Rites of Durham," p. 5). Subsequently to the suppression, possibly under the influence of Cosin, an open screen of oak, of what it is the fashion to term "debased work," was here erected, and remained until the year, 1839 (cf. Eyre's "St. Cuthbert," p. 225). Whether this followed the semi-circular or the quadrangular plan, I am not aware.

^{uuu} Since it is improbable that the shrine would have been placed with its eastern extremity within a few feet of what would have been the solid wall of an aisleless apse.

^{xxx} At Waltham Abbey, as every one knows, was interred the last of our saxon kings, Harold Infelix. The same feature is to be seen in the cathedral of Norwich; in the abbey of Dunfermline, founded by St. Margaret, sister to Edgar Etheling; on a smaller scale, in the earliest portion of the crypt at Canterbury (cf. Willis's "Canterbury Cathedral," fig. 12); and what is still more significant of its origin, in the undoubtedly saxon crypt at Repton, Derbyshire (cf. my father's "Lectures," ii., p. 51). There is a tradition in the church of Waltham that these channelings were filled with bronze-gilt bands. I can observe no trace of anything of the sort having existed at Durham, but at Waltham, oddly enough, there are some marks which may, possibly, have had to do with the fitting-in of such metal-work.

rested, which is interesting. The author mentions that, "on account of its great size, it was supported upon nine pillars."^{vvv} From the "Rites of Durham" (p. 3) we learn that it had, at its western extremity, "a little altar adjoynd to it, for mass to be said on upon the great and holy feast of St. Cuthbert's day, in Lent."^{www} It is clear, therefore, that, as in the case of the feretory of St. Edward, at Westminster, this altar, with its retabulum, formed the support of the western end, and that the structure had four bays at its sides, and two at its eastern end—its plan was, in short, that of two squares, the length being twice the breadth.

The description which the author of the "Rites" has left us is so curious, and brings so vividly before the imagination the arrangement of the whole shrine, that the reader will not, I think, be disposed to blame me, if I conclude my notice of this great church by transcribing the entire passage.

In the centre of the raised area, which had, to the west of it, the high altar, and to the east of the chapel of the nine altars, into which it protruded in "a quadrant form," stood the elevated *feretrum*, having for its support, as we have seen, nine columns, together with the retable of the small altar of the saint, which stood at its western end. Upon this structure, which is described as of green marble, rested, in the position to which abbat D'Aubeny's crippled hand had helped to raise it, the coffin in which the saint's incorrupt body, for four centuries, reposed. This was protected by a cover, "beinge," as our author tells us,^{xxx} "of wainscott, whereunto was fastned unto every corner of the said cover, to a loope of iron, a strong cord, which cord was all fest together over the midst over the cover. And a strong rope was fest unto the loopes or bindinge of the said cordes, which runn upp and downe in a pully under the vault which was above over St. Cuthbert's Feretorie, for the drawinge upp of the cover of the said shrine, and the said rope was fastned to a loope of iron in the north pillar of the feretory, haveinge six silver bells fastned to the said rope, soe as when the cover of the same was drawinge upp, the belles did make such a good sound that itt did stirr all the people's harts that was within the church to repaire unto itt, and to make ther praiers to God and holy saint Cuthbert, and that the beholders might see the glorious ornaments thereof. Also the cover had att every corner two ringes made fast, which did runn upp and downe on the fower staves of iron, when it was in drawinge upp, which staves were fast to every corner of the marble that Saint Cuthbert's coffin did lye upon, which cover was all gilded over, and of eyther syde was painted fower lively images curious to the beholders : and on the east end was

painted the picture of our Saviour sittinge on a rainbowe to geive judgement, very lively, to the beholders : and on the west end of it was the picture of our Lady, and our Saviour on her knee. And on the topp of the cover, from end to end, was most fyne (brattishing of) carved worke, cutt owte with dragons and other beasts, most artificially wrought : and the inside was vernished with a fyne sanguine colour, that it might be more perspicuous to the beholders : and att every corner of the cover was a locke to keepe itt close, but att such tymes as was fitt to show itt, that the beholders might see the glorie and ornaments thereof."

This early norman work, illustrated by the churches to which I have been referring, has, it seems to me, a certain high quality which we miss somewhat in the more advanced stages of the style. There is a severe dignity about it which is very impressive, and the proportions of piers and arches, and often of the whole building, have a character which recalls somewhat the traditions of ancient roman art.

Where there are aisles, these were, as we have seen, vaulted in rubble stone, without ribs, and plastered. The surfaces thus obtained are well adapted to receive coloured enrichments, and both the mode of groining and the system of decoration applied to it, are in their principles classic, at least as much as medieval. The wider span of the nave was not, as a rule, vaulted, the builders feeling themselves, perhaps, unequal to covering in in stone the larger span.

We have, however, in the chapel of the tower of London an exception which shows how fine an effect our architects were capable of producing in those cases in which they were able to vault in the whole of a building. I would draw especial attention to this chapel, because, though so small in scale, it is so thoroughly satisfactory.

It was built by Gundulph, a monk of Bec, and the friend of Lanfranc, by whom, in 1077, he was consecrated bishop of Rochester. If St. Alban's abbey shows us what the early Normans could produce, when working upon the grandest scale, this little chapel shows us that they could be equally successful upon the smallest.^{yyy} It consists of a choir and aisles—the aisle, which is returned round the apse, being in two stories. The whole is vaulted in rubble, the central space with a barrel-vault, terminating in a semi-dome. The upper aisle has also a waggon-vault, but the lower one is groined. There is no clerestory, but the same plan might, of course, be applied to a clerestoried church, using a groined roof instead of a barrel-vault. The effect of the double aisle, one story above the other, is exceedingly good, and serves to show how, even in a small church, galleries may be introduced with positive advantage in point of effect. Nothing can be simpler than this little building, and nothing in its way more satisfactory.

^{vvv} Cf. Eyre's "St. Cuthbert," p. 175.

^{www} The *feretrum* of Carileph remained unaltered until the dissolution, and it is therefore to this that our author refers. It was removed in November, 1541, by John Symson, who was paid two shillings for the job, which took him four days to complete. (Cf. Eyre's "St. Cuthbert," p. 186.)

^{xxx} "Rites of Durham," p. 4.

^{yyy} When I first knew this unique chapel, it served as a lumber-room, and it retained every one of its original features—with the exception, of course, of its altar and fittings, and of

As a rule, however, the central spaces of our norman churches were, as already observed, unvaulted. The roofs were not, however, exposed to view, but were covered by a flat boarded ceiling—following in this the tradition of the roman basilica. These flat ceilings are a very characteristic feature of the english style, and it is the more necessary to call attention to them, because in the great majority of cases they have been replaced, in later times, by stone vaulting, or by open timber roofing.

It is important in judging of the effect of a norman interior to have this fact in view. Peterborough cathedral retains the original treatment, though it has been renewed and repainted from time to time. St. Michael's church, Hildesheim, retains its original ceiling complete with its paintings, which are exceedingly fine, and give a very high notion of the effect which such ceilings are capable of producing.^{zzz} Lanfranc's nave at Canterbury was thus ceiled, for Gervase, writing in the twelfth century, alludes to the "well-painted ceiling" which concealed too long the fire which was consuming the roof above.^{aaa}

This treatment of the central areas was retained far into the thirteenth century. The abbey of Buildwas, Fountains, Selby, Whitby, Old Malton, Holy Trinity at York, and numerous other great churches, were thus covered.

Even when, in the thirteenth century, waggon or cradle-roofs of trussed rafters came in vogue, these were always boarded below the rafters. Some of the roofs even of fourteenth-century date are flat in pitch, as is the nave roof of Sparsholt church, Berks; where the chancel, also of this century, appears to have had a flat boarded ceiling beneath a roof of higher pitch. Haslingfield church, near Cambridge, and St. Martin's, at Leicester, have also retained low-pitched roofs of the decorated period.

Ornamental open-roofs of high pitch were, as a matter of fact, of later introduction, and it is worth noticing that they did not continue in fashion for very long. Except in some particular districts, they soon gave place to the flat-pitched roofs of the perpendicular period, which are virtually a return to the treatment adopted by the norman builders.

I cannot help thinking that this anglo-norman preference for flat ceilings was not due merely to want of skill on the part of the builders, or to a distrust of their ability to vault over large spaces. We may ascribe it rather to a saxon tradition which the conquering race was unable, or unwilling, to break up.

The choice lay, it will be seen, not between the flat ceiling and the groined-roof, but between the former and a stone barrel-vault; and any one who

the coloured decorations which once adorned its walls and vaults. The attention recently directed to it has, most unfortunately, led to its restoration under the direction of incompetent persons, and it has now lost much of its interest.

^{zzz} A painted ceiling of this kind has been put up of late years in Waltham abbey with good effect.

^{aaa} See the passage translated from Gervase's history in Willis's "Canterbury Cathedral," p. 33.

has seen the somewhat gloomy and depressing effect of a plain waggon-vault upon a large scale, will see that there was much to be said, on merely æsthetic grounds, for the choice made by the english architects.

On the continent stone barrel-vaults were used in preference to flat ceilings, and in the section of these vaults is to be found, probably, the first examples of the use of the pointed arch, adopted of course to gain greater strength and to relieve the abutments. This plan allows only of a very small clerestory, and there is often none at all.

A comparison of the nave of Peterborough, for example, with that of the church of St. Sernin, at Toulouse, will illustrate this point. The pier arches and triforia of the two are not unlike, but St. Sernin's has no clerestory, and is roofed with a waggon-vault, the triforia being roofed with half-waggons; while Peterborough has windows in the rear wall of the triforium, an ample clerestory, and a flat ceiling. The effects of the two are in striking contrast: the one is as gloomy as a building well can be, and impressive from its gloom: the other is full of light, and most attractive from its brightness.^{bbb}

In those waggon-vaulted churches which have clerestories, the windows are small, and are of necessity placed a long way below the highest point of the interior—the apex, that is, of the vault. The effect is therefore, even in this case, very gloomy. The flat ceilings, however, allowed of a spacious clerestory, introducing the light at the highest point of the interior. We may well understand that the english builders were unwilling to give up the more cheerful effect thus produced, even for the sake of the greater solemnity and dignity, as well as the diminished risk of fire, which the waggon-roof undoubtedly secures.

This early style, if we take into account the works of the same date upon the continent, supplies every feature which a complete system of architecture can require, and I cannot but think that, even at the present day, there is much to be learnt from this thoroughly masculine mode of building. I speak especially of the early form of the norman and romanesque style, rather than of its later and more elaborated phases.

We find in it the barrel-vault, with or without cross arches; the groined vault in its simplest form, without ribs; and last, though not least, the dome. It is in the churches of Perigord that this grand feature is found, and although they lie out of the main line of our subject, which is english church architecture, yet some notice of these interesting buildings seems required in order to complete our survey of a style, to the merits of which I would draw especial attention.

^{bbb} "I often wonder," says my father ("Personal and Professional Recollections," p. 300), "that the interior of Peterborough cathedral does not excite to stronger expressions of admiration. It seems to me, next to Durham, to be the finest norman interior that we have. Not only the nave, but also the transepts, with the remarkable variation between their eastern and western sides, have always filled me with the highest admiration, and this is renewed by every visit."

At Perigueux we find examples of domical construction, both of the earlier and of the later roman-
esque; and here, too, the simplicity of the early
examples is not improved upon in the more elabo-
rate and later specimens.

The type of these churches is, on plan, a greek
cross. Five square bays, of very large dimensions,
are formed by immense plain piers of masonry,
unrelieved by any shafts or mouldings, having plain
imposts, and corresponding in treatment with the
nave piers of St. Alban's. Upon these piers rest
vast arches with plain, unenriched, soffits. Between
these arches rise the pendentives of the dome, by
which the square area is reduced to a circle of the
same diameter. A simple impost, or string, crowns
and unites these pendentives, from which rises a
plain, hemispherical or slightly pointed, dome,
pierced in its lower portion by small and plain
window-openings.

Nothing can be simpler than such a composi-
tion, and yet, from the grandeur of their scale,
and the excellence of their proportions the effect
of these churches is exceedingly impressive. That
such buildings are capable of receiving art-en-
richments of the highest order we may see in St.
Mark's, at Venice. This church is of the same plan
and scale, exactly, as the cathedral of Perigueux,
but the wall-faces, which are plain masonry in the
french example, are, in the case of St. Mark's,
veneered with slabs of rich marbles, and the arch
soffits, the pendentives, and the domes are enriched
with the most striking mosaics. The effect of the
one is as impressive, from its gorgeous magnificence,
as is that of the other, from its cheerful simplicity.

Taking the style as a whole, it appears to me to
furnish valuable suggestions for modern architec-
ture. There is in it the smallest possible amount
of architectural ornament. The whole is a matter
of building rather than of architecture, and such
churches require little beyond careful proportioning
to make them most imposing.

The whole work might be executed in brick, like
St. Alban's, and plastered, and as no materials and
no skilled labour would be required, beyond what a
railway-bridge demands, we should be able to raise
churches, of great size and massive construction,
at small expense. We should thus be working in
accordance with the conditions of the present day,
in which we find every facility for building, but no
native genius for architectural detail. At the same
time, such buildings would offer every opportunity
for ornamentation by painting or mosaics, by
marble veneering or terra-cotta enrichments; or by
the introduction of panel-paintings, in triptychs, or
in frames of wood or of marble. Thus we should
be using the building-facilities which we certainly
possess, and the sort of art in which we are not
deficient, instead of striving after a more strictly
architectural style, at which we seem singularly
inapt.

Of course such buildings need not be in the
norman *style*. So far as they had any definite style,
this may be either round-arched or pointed, late

gothic or renaissance. But their principal cha-
racteristic would be the absence of any pronounced
architectural style, and an effect dependent chiefly
upon noble proportions and fine colour.

As an illustration of what I mean, I cannot do
better than refer to the well-known church of Roslyn
near Edinburgh. This is not, as it is commonly
called, a chapel, but the quire of an unfinished
church. It was founded by Sir William St. Clair,
and was commenced in 1446. The works ceased
upon the death of the founder, in 1484, but it is
clear that it was designed to have had a nave
(roofed like the quire, with a stone barrel-vault)
thirty-seven feet in the clear—as wide, in fact, as the
quire *and* its aisles,—from which it was to be sepa-
rated by a transept of the same large span. It is a
subject of deep regret that this magnificent plan
was never completed, owing, no doubt, to the parsimony
of Sir William's heirs. The quire is, however,
complete, and is a most original and exceedingly
able example of the style of the scottish architec-
ture of the fifteenth century. Its eastern extremity is
square, with a procession-path, and chapels beyond
it, arranged upon a rectangular plan, of which we
may see examples, of the thirteenth century, at Glas-
gow cathedral, and at abbey Dore, in Herefordshire.
With this exception, and with the omission of the
upper aisle, it is, however, strikingly similar in con-
ception to the chapel of bishop Gundulph, in the
keep of London, and it is thus very valuable, as show-
ing how a norman idea may be translated, by a man
of genius, into the latest phase of the gothic style. In
one respect it is even simpler (and we may almost
say earlier) in point of construction than its roman-
esque prototype. In Gundulph's little gem, the
lower aisle is groined. At Roslyn the aisle is covered
in by a succession of transverse barrel-vaults, whose
springings are carried by lintols, the really arched
construction of which is very cleverly masked. I
know myself of only one other example of such a
treatment, and this occurs in the upper aisle of the
fine thirteenth-century church of Mantes, upon the
Seine. In this instance the apparent lintol is a true
one, and is supported by a series of small columns.

This beautiful work is well deserving of a more
careful study than it has hitherto received. It is,
to my mind, extremely suggestive, as showing how
independent of architectural style are constructive
principles. The building is as romantic in the
story of the circumstances which gave occasion to
its erection, as it is in the masterly fantasy of its
design. The popular instinct, always true in such
cases, has ever done justice to its high merit, but
the professional students of our art have neglected
to give it the attention which it well deserves, in
consequence of that stupid prejudice, which would
restrict the admiration of the nineteenth century—
by an artificial and arbitrary rule—to the buildings
which were carried out in the thirteenth.

Great as are the merits of the works of the twelfth
and thirteenth centuries, I have no hesitation in
saying, that there is no building of those great
ages, of anything like the same dimensions, which

display nobler invention, or greater constructive skill, than this. Had the original design been completed, this church would have been one of the wonders of christendom.

I do not propose to follow in detail the history of the norman style in its later stages, partly because I think that its earlier variety is the more interesting, and, for ourselves, the more suggestive, and also because the study of its advance will not greatly help us to understand the invention of pointed architecture. Two points, however, seem to me to be, in this view, of interest.

The first is, the constant tendency towards loftiness of proportion. The second is, the importance which groined vaulting gradually assumed, and the dominant part which this constructional element came to play in determining the course of architectural developement. Upon this latter point I shall have, in the course of the following chapter, to dwell somewhat in detail.

The characteristics of the advanced norman style are known to the veriest tyro in architectural know-

ledge ; and in spite of a certain interest which they possess, they do not seem to be in themselves very attractive. Wherever the style differs from the contemporary romanesque of the continent, it appears to me to differ for the worse ; and its truly grand features are those which it has in common with the corresponding architecture of France, and of Germany.

The real glory of the norman period lies in the number and the vastness of the churches with which it enriched our land. " Nearly every cathedral and great abbey was rebuilt on a stupendous scale : new cathedrals and new abbeys were founded, and new churches of all grades, from these vast temples down to the smallest village church, erected throughout the length and breadth of the country." ^{cccc} Few periods, probably, in the world's history have been marked by the construction of buildings so " multitudinous and so vast."

^{cccc} " Lectures on Medieval Architecture " (Sir G. Gilbert Scott), ii., 90.

DISCURSUS

ON THE HISTORY OF THE CHASUBLE.

A FEW remarks on the history of the vestment peculiar to the christian ministry will not be out of place here, the more so as the variations observable in its form in different countries and times have a certain relation to the general course of ecclesiological progress, which they serve to illustrate.

It is impossible to separate the study of church architecture from that of church ritual, and of this latter, or—speaking more accurately—of the ceremonial which is its necessary accompaniment, the sacerdotal vesture forms a necessary part.

This venerable habit, appropriated originally to the Jewish pontiff alone, but now imposed, at his ordination, upon every christian priest, had its origin, as we have seen, from the “pattern shewed to Moses in the mount”^a upon that memorable day when “Sinai was altogether in a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire.”^b

There is no reason whatever to believe that this vestment, in its earliest form, was a seamless one, or that it ever consisted of a mere flat circular disk of cloth, or other fabric, pierced by a central head-hole. Some modern theorists have, indeed, assumed this to have been its primitive shape, but there is no authority for such a supposition, which is disproved by the obviously absurd results of its practical application.^c

The true conception of the chasuble is that of a semi-circular piece of some woven material, folded in two, so as to form a quadrant, the two edges of which are sewn together from the circumference up to the centre, with the exception of a small portion at the summit of the angle left unsewn for the passage of the head.^d

A vestment thus designed has but one seam, and this will form a vertical line, extending from the front lower margin of the head-hole, downwards to the circumferent hem; a line which, in the language of anatomy, would be termed the front mesial line of the figure.

It is therefore an essential and a characteristic feature of the chasuble that it has a front vertical seam. In accordance with the rule—instinctive where an art-sense exists—that

^a Heb. viii. 5.

^b Ex. xix. 18.

^c See, for example, the diagram entitled “A chasuble opened out,” on pl. ii. of Pugin’s “Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament,” in which is represented such a form as never has been, nor perhaps could be, worn. The grotesque arrangement of the Y cross, amounting in fact to a caricature, is noticeable. Such a blunder is pardonable enough in a work published in 1844, but it is somewhat amusing to see it reproduced, thirty years later, in M. Viollet-le-Duc’s “Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français,” iii., p. 143, and in other works of as recent a date.

^d In practice it is necessary to cut away a little of the material about the head-hole, and also to make the front of the vestment a trifle shorter than the back, although I doubt whether this latter modification would be required except where the custom of genuflection prevailed.

decoration shall accentuate construction, this seam has been, from the earliest times, enriched by braids and embroideries, forming what is termed "the pillar." Thus the vestment in use in the roman church has the cross—which is derived, as we shall presently see, from the "pillar"—upon the front of it,^e and those english monuments of ecclesiastics, in which the Y cross does not appear, almost always exhibit this frontal orphrey.^f

The so-called "pillar" upon the front of the vestment is therefore its more important decoration.

But although this is all that is required to the ideal of the chasuble—namely, a cone-like form, having a head-hole at its apex and a frontal suture—in practice it is necessary to consider the width of the material to be used, and its economical employment. To these purely practical considerations, and to the modes in which they have been dealt with, are to be attributed, as appears to me, those two types of the chasuble, commonly known as the roman and the old-english.

This latter expression would, however, be misleading. In the first place, the existence in this country of a type of vestment, differing from that which is traditional in Rome, is sufficient of itself to show that the form was not introduced by St. Augustine and the roman missionaries to the Saxons, but that it belongs to an earlier date, and is, like the square east-ends of our chancels, and like so many peculiarities of our native rituals, derived from the customs of the ancient british church. And, in the second place, this particular form of the chasuble is not by any means confined to our own land. It was in use in the north of France, in the Low Countries, in Germany, upon the shores of the Baltic, and possibly even in Spain.

St. Regnobert's chasuble at Bayeux, and St. Thomas's at Sens, are examples of the use of the Y cross in France. In Shaw's "*Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*" (i., pl. 29) there is another and a later instance, from the abbey of St. Genevieve. The same work (ii., pl. 67) has another example from a flemish illumination. The Y cross is also shown in the "*Exhumation of St. Hubert*" in the National Gallery, a work of the dutch school attributed to Dierick Bouts, who died in 1475. More interesting still is the appearance of the same form upon the chasuble of the prelate in Ruben's "*Conversion of St. Bavon*," of which there is a study, by the master, in the National Gallery. The Y-crossed vestment of Ruben's picture is not unlike a very splendid one which is preserved in the sacristy at Xanten, in Guelderland. In King's "*Study Book of Medieval Architecture*" there are figured several examples from the churches of Lubeck (iv., pls. 50, 57, 60, 61), and at St. Mary's College at Oscott there is a medieval picture, said to be Spanish, in which the same form is represented. It would be curious to work out, as might be done, the exact limits of the wide area over which the Y-crossed chasuble once prevailed.

Thus if the more normal type be termed the latin, this other may be considered as the trans-alpine, or perhaps the hispano-gallican form. Names, however, are of little consequence provided it be clearly understood, first, that this peculiar model in no sense belongs exclusively to our own country; that in strictness it is not english, but british; and secondly, that the differences between it and the roman pattern results from considerations, not doctrinal, but sartorial.

^e Fornici: "*Institutiones Liturgicæ*," p. 46.

^f For example, the brasses of the bishops Goodrich (A.D. 1554) in Ely Cathedral, and Pursglove (A.D. 1579) in Tideswell church, Derbyshire.

It is commonly supposed that these two types of the *planeta* are distinguished by the form of the cross embroidered upon them—the one exhibiting the latin cross, the other what is termed the Y cross.* This is a misapprehension. The real difference between them lies in the arrangement of the *seams*.

It is clear that a semi-circular piece of stuff set out with a radius of about four feet is very wasteful of material if cut out in one piece, even if it were easy to procure fabrics of so large a width.

In the latin chasuble this difficulty was met by making up the semi-circle out of three breadths.

Thus, referring to the diagrams given in the accompanying illustration, Fig. i. shows the unbroken semi-circle which is the ideal of the vestment, Fig. ii. shows the same as made up, A-B representing the frontal seam.^h In Figure iii. the semi-circle is shown, made up of three breadths of material A-B, B-B, B-A. Fig. iv. shows the vestment so made up, viewed laterally. Fig. v. is the front view of the same, and Fig. vi. the back view. Such is the original form of the latin vestment, and the seams resulting from this mode of setting out the material are to this day marked by the braids which are to be seen upon every, so-called, roman chasuble.

The latin cross, which is characteristic of the roman planeta, is always upon the front of the vestment, and is but an amplification of the cruciform outline suggested by the seams themselves, as may be observed in Fig. v., where the lines D-D, and A-B suggest at once the T-shaped cross.ⁱ

But there is another mode of setting out the chasuble.

Suppose that, instead of forming it of one semi-circular piece of stuff, two quadrant-shaped pieces are employed (as in Figure vii.), the result is that when made up, such a vestment will exhibit a vertical seam both on front and back. This is shown in Figure viii., where the two seams are indicated by the lines A-B, C-G. It is upon this type that the, so-called, old english vestments are modelled, and if the width of the material is sufficient no further sutures are needed.

Accordingly, we sometimes find english ecclesiastics represented in chasubles having only these two vertical pillars.

This is at bottom the essential distinction between the two types, latin and non-latin, that the one takes its origin from a semi-circular piece of stuff, the other from two quadrant-shaped pieces. Thus, while the frontal "pillar" is common to both, the especial peculiarity of the

* This latter is sometimes spoken of as the pallium-cross. I avoid the use of this expression as calculated to suggest a false impression as to the origin of this particular arrangement of the orphreys.

^h In this diagram the chasuble is viewed *laterally*. It is very important to a clear understanding of the matter to look at the vestment from this point of view rather than from the front. In this diagram, as in all the others, the seams are indicated by a double line; the fold, which is formed by the shoulders of the wearer, and which may be conceived as continued down to the hem, by a dotted line.

ⁱ In Italy the cross has always continued to be displayed upon the front of the chasuble. Fornici, in his "Institutiones Liturgicæ" (p. 46), says:—"Et quando antiquitus dum planeta totum corpus tegebat, spectabatur ut vestis ad christi Domini jugum representandum accommodata, nunc mysticam hanc significationem exhibet casula crucis figura, quæ eidem apponitur, vel ante ut in Italia, vel retro ut in Gallia, vel utrinque ut in Germania." This variation in the position of the cross is connected, no doubt, with the fact that in Rome the normal position of the celebrant faced toward the assistance; in France, away from the people; and in Germany—owing to the prevalence of that type of church in which there is both an eastern and a western apse—sometimes toward the congregation, sometimes the reverse, according as the mass was said at the eastern or western high altar.

latter is not what is termed the Y cross, but the dorsal seam, elaborated, as time went on, into the dorsal "pillar."^j

The Y cross of the trans-alpine chasuble, like the frontal latin cross of the roman planeta, was suggested by the seams which the width of the fabric used, and its economical employment, necessitated. In making up the quadrant-shaped piece of stuff, whose diameter is greater than the width of the material available, the most natural procedure is to form a seam (E-F in Fig. ix.) at right angles to the central line of the whole. If in setting this out the length E-F be made equal to the length A-E, there is the minimum of waste of material, and this is, speaking generally, the rule by which the exact position of these seams, and therefore the proportions of the Y cross, are determined.

We thus arrive at the typical form of, what might perhaps be termed, *casula alterius orbis*. Of this model Fig. x. shows the front view, and Fig. xi. the rear view.^k

It is certainly striking to find that, just as our church architecture and our ancient rituals exhibit features which have come down from a period far earlier than the mission of St. Augustine, so too the very seams of our ancient chasubles bear witness to the fact of the continuity of british and english christianity.

The modifications which the chasuble has, since early times, undergone in every country, have been due to changes in the ceremonial, which have rendered a freer use of the arms necessary to the action of the celebrant.

In the early ages, during the canon, the priest was concealed from view by the altar-veils. The adoration of the people did not, therefore, take place at the moment of the sacrifice, as is now the custom of the western church, but at a later point in the service,^l when, the veils being withdrawn, the celebrant advanced and, while presenting the Eucharist to the worship of the people, gave with it the solemn blessing.^m

This, the primitive manner of the eucharistic adoration, has never been abandoned by the easterns, and as it does not require the celebrant to raise his arms above the level of the breast, the mutilation which the oriental *phenolion* has undergone is confined to the front of the vestment.ⁿ

The western *casula* has also been curtailed, but—owing to the difference of the rite—in a different direction.

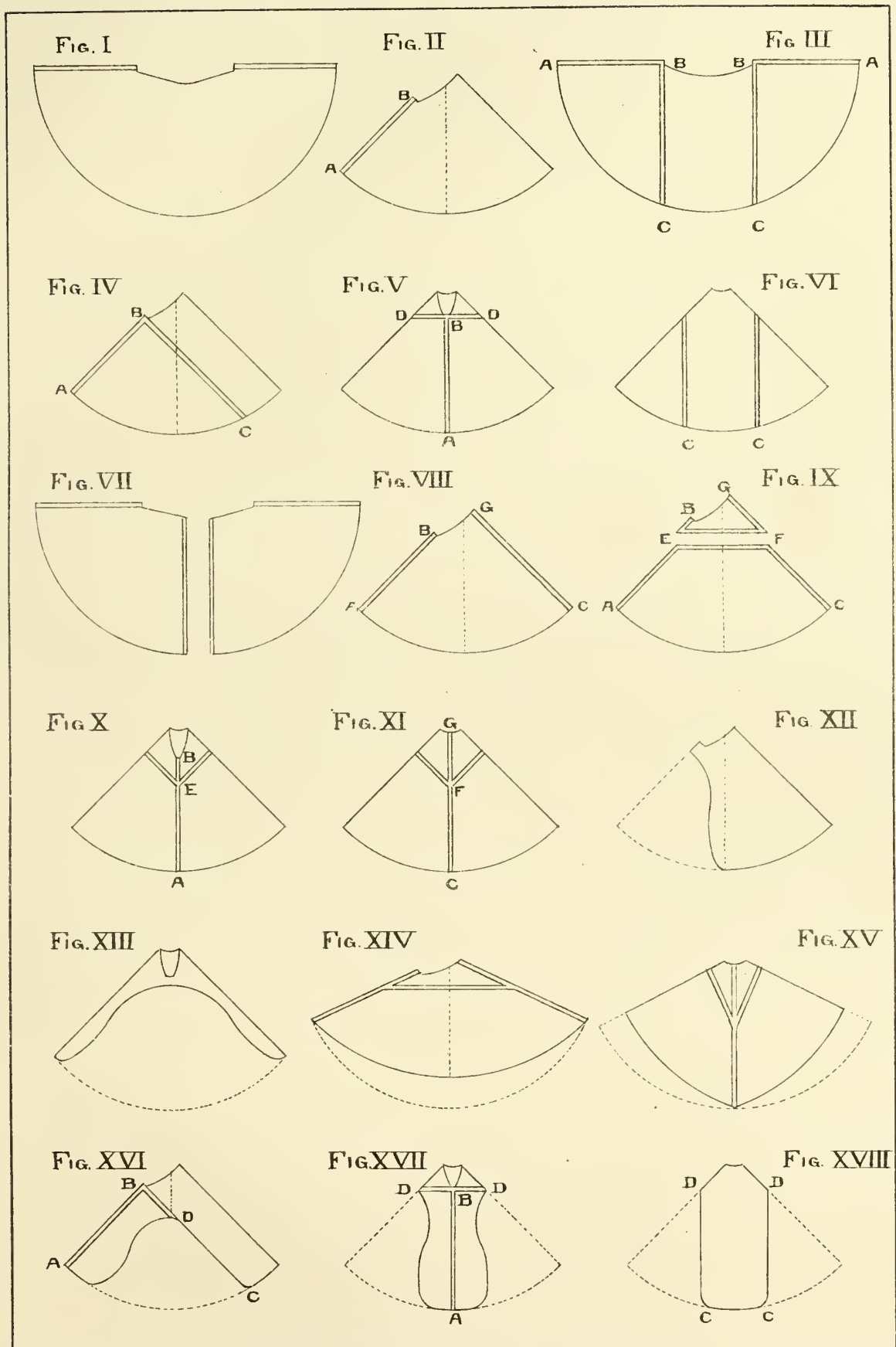
^j The dorsal "pillar" (without the Y cross) is well shown in the brass of John Booth, bishop of Exeter, (dd. 1478), in East Horsley church, Surrey. Cf. "Monumental Brasses," published by the Cambridge Camden Society, p. 83. It occurs also upon the very ancient vestment, known as St. Bernard's chasuble, preserved in the sacristy at Xanten.

^k This, the primitive form of the trans-alpine *planeta*, is exhibited in its purity in the chasuble of St. Regnbert (who was living in 630), preserved in the cathedral-church of Bayeux. A drawing of this vestment forms the frontispiece to vol. i. of Rock's "Church of our Fathers," and a description of it is given at p. 320 of the same. It is an early example of the use of the Y cross in France.

^l The place of the ancient benediction is marked by the *Pax domini sit semper vobiscum* of the petrine rite. Where this early rite prevailed there appears to have been no "final blessing."

^m This primitive usage, still universal in the eastern churches, appears to be the origin of the service now termed (in the west) "Benediction"; in which one feature—and a very characteristic one—of the primitive ritual, is employed, as a ceremony, apart from the mass itself.

ⁿ Figure xii., in the diagram, exhibits the side view of the modern greek form of the vestment, and Fig. xiii. the front view, the dotted lines showing the portion lost in the modern curtailment. In its present mutilated form, the *phenolion* somewhat resembles, to an uncritical eye, the western cope. Possibly a misapprehension, arising from this accidental resemblance, may have contributed to the adoption of the—purely choral—cope, as a eucharistic habit, by the Caroline divines.



DIAGRAMS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF
THE CHASUBLE.

When the custom of veiling the altar during mass had grown obsolete in the latin church, it became possible, and fitting, to make the moment of consecration the moment also of adoration, and one action to suffice for both. Thus the elevation of oblation became also the elevation for worship.

The change thus made in the ceremonial began at once to affect the shape of the chasuble on this side of the Alps.

In Rome, however, where, in the normal position, the celebrant faced toward the people, no change in the form of the chasuble was required by the change of use, and we accordingly find that the ancient ample unmutilated vestment was retained in Rome for many centuries after it had been abandoned, for a more or less curtailed *planeta*, in the trans-alpine countries.^o

For here, where the celebrant, as a rule, had his back toward the people, it was necessary, as a consequence of the alteration in the moment of adoration, to elevate the *oblata* much higher than the act of offering alone required. Thus the sarum rubric prescribes "post hæc verba (sc. Hoc est enim corpus meum) inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam, et postea eleuet eam supra frontem ut possit a populo videri." To the performance of such an elevation the ample vestment is by no means well adapted, and the practical inconvenience resulting from this led to that modification of the primitive shape which is characteristic of our own middle ages.

The pointed medieval vestment is, in fact, the earliest example of the mutilation of the chasuble, and the first instance of an abandonment of its primitive type.

The alteration of form which convenience now demanded, was effected by cutting off a slice from each side of the vestment, whose lower edge, no longer a quadrant, described from the highest point of the vestment, became, as viewed laterally (Fig. xiv.), a smaller segment of a larger circle, assuming, as viewed in front and rear (Fig. xv.), a pointed contour, due to the intersection of two circular curves. At the same time, in order to allow of a larger curtailment, and to give greater freedom to the arms, the angle at the apse of the vestment, hitherto a right angle, was made somewhat obtuse.

Such is the vestment familiar to every student of our medieval monuments, and such the reasons which led to this, the first, innovation upon the primitive model. It is of importance to understand clearly, first, that this innovation was a mutilation, and the earliest example of this process; and secondly, that it was determined by considerations of practical convenience, and not by the notion of introducing the pointed form. It is very remarkable that, from necessities purely practical and geometrical, there should have resulted a model singularly in harmony with the contemporary architectural fashions.

The curtailed form of the chasuble thus arrived at, continued in use, with little or no

^o Thus in Letarouilly's "Rome Moderne" (ii., pl. 190; iii., pls. 234, 239, 241, 251, 262, 315, 330, 350) and in Tosi and Becchio's "Monumenti Sepulcrali di Roma" (pls. 4, 7, 16, 22, 25, 26, 27, 39, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50) we find every pontiff and cardinal-bishop represented in their monumental effigies (down to the commencement of the sixteenth century), as vested in the ample form of the *planeta*, as exhibited in Figures iv., v., and vi. The same shape is seen in the fresco of "The Miracle of Bolsena," painted by Raphael in 1513. The edition of the roman pontifical, printed by Giunta in 1520, and dedicated to Pope Leo X., shows, in its numerous illustrations of the ceremonies, the same primitive form to have been then in use. The same ample vestment is prescribed by the acts of the church of Milan, drawn up by St. Charles Borromeo in 1599. At the present day the rubrics of the roman pontifical require the ample form, and cannot be obeyed to the letter without it.

further change, until the Reformation troubles led to the abandonment of our ancient rites.^p

Had the course of history been different, and the english nation remained catholic, the Y-crossed chasuble would, no doubt, have undergone, in the seventeenth century, the same more extensive curtailment to which the roman chasuble at length submitted.^q It will, therefore, be as well to explain the mode in which the ancient petrine vestment has been mutilated, in comparatively modern times, in order to give completeness to the history, although—except in its bearings upon what “might have been, yet might not be”—it lies out somewhat of the limits of my proper subject.

It is, however, important to observe, that up to the period of the Reformation, the only curtailment of the primitive form that had been ventured upon anywhere, was the innovation effected in our own country—and elsewhere, north of the Alps—during the middle ages, which had as its result the pointed-shaped vestment figured in our ancient brasses. This mutilation was never adopted in Italy, and the primitive form (as shown in Figs. iv., v., vi., of the diagram) was retained in Rome after chasubles, even of the mutilated medieval form, had ceased to be worn in the english churches.

The mode in which the petrine vestment came at last to be curtailed is parallel to that by which the *phenolion* of the easterns has been shorn (as illustrated by Figs. xii. and xiii.), except that the difference of ceremonial, which I have already explained, necessitated a lateral, in place of a frontal, modification.

In order to allow a complete freedom to the arms of the priest, the primitive vestment, as we see it in Fig. iv., was reduced to the form exhibited in Figures xvi., xvii., and xviii.^r Thus the extent of the mutilation is about the same, in east and in west, but it is differently distributed.

The Y-crossed vestment of our medieval monuments would, but for the disuse of chasubles by the anglican church, have undergone, doubtless, exactly the same abridgment, and for the same practical reasons.

I need not apologise for the introduction, in this place, of matters rather sartorial than architectural. The history of the Church's principal vestment serves to throw light upon the history, not only of church architecture, but of the Church herself.

Moreover, all art is founded, in fact, upon those which minister to the simplest necessities of life—sheltering, clothing, and, I may add, cooking, and the frenchman who described England as a land of a hundred religions and one sauce made a remark profound in its moral and culinary aspect, as in its recognition of the relation which holds between the two.

^p The date of the final relinquishment of the sarum use is indicated in the following passage from the introduction to Mr. David Lewis's translation of the work of Dr. Nicholas Sander, “De Origine et Progressu Schismatis Anglicani.” Speaking of Edward Rishton, the first editor of this work, he says (p. xiv.): “On Easter eve, April 7, 1577, he was ordained priest at Cambrai, and on the second Sunday after Easter, said mass for the first time. He sang on that day the high mass at the high-altar of the parish church, according to the rite there in use; but the priests who were trained at Douai, *vexatione dante intellectum*, abandoned the local rites, to which their forefathers had been accustomed in England, and said mass according to the roman rite, in obedience to the decrees of St. Pius V.” He gives a reference to the “Collegii Anglo-Duaceni Diarium,” ii., p. 118.

^q The Laudian divines, had they revived the use of the chasuble, would doubtless have followed in the form of the vestment the contemporary fashion of the continental churches, as they did in the introduction of altar-rails and in the forms of their mitres, croziers, and copes. They would probably have adopted the form which we see in Ruben's “Conversion of St. Bavon,” in the National Gallery.

^r Fig. xvi. shows the lateral view, Fig. xvii. the frontal, and Fig. xviii. the dorsal. It will be observed that the seam (B-C) of Fig. iv. has become the hem (D-C) of the reduced form, which Fig. xvi. illustrates.

DISCURSUS

ON THE PAINTED CEILINGS OF ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY-CHURCH.

THE abbatial church of St. Alban appears to have been peculiar in its adherence to the early tradition of painted ceilings. The vestibule of the lady-chapel was thus adorned, as we have seen, in the fourteenth century, by a *celatura*, upon which was depicted the Assumption of the Mother of God. The presbytery had a ceiling which, though in the form of a stone groin, was of wood, decorated originally with red stone-lining, and in later times (by abbat John Wheat-hampsted) with the symbols of his patrons, the Baptist and the Evangelist. The weak point in the design of a wooden groin is always the junction of the wooden ribs with the stone springers. This is very happily masked here by large emblazoned shields, which have an excellent effect.^a Altogether this is as charming a piece of coloured decoration as exists anywhere in England.

The tower and the transepts retain the flat *celaturæ* which were originally decorated by that "pictor et sculptor incomparabilis," Walter of Colchester, during the abbacy of William Trumpington,^b though the existing paintings exhibit but a poor tradition of the original work.

The nave and quire were ceiled at the existing level by the same abbat (1214-1235), and although the roof was in later times reduced to a flat pitch, the level of Trumpington's ceiling was retained, and possibly much of the material of that "tectum de præelecta materie" of those "tigna," "trabes," and "laquearia" of which Matthew Paris tells us.^c

^a The existing shields are not very ancient, but they have preserved the tradition of the device of the medieval architect.

^b Cf. "Gesta Abbatum," Rolls reprint, i., p. 287. "Tegmine quodam, quod vulgariter labrescura' vel celatura dicitur, quo trabium seriem cooperuit, ecclesiam mirifice supra memoratam Mariolam" (in the southern transept) "venustavit abbas Willelmus, ne tignorum vel trabium deformitas (?), quas vetustas denigraverat, oculos offenderet intuentium." While he thus added painted ceilings, he whitewashed the walls: the historian thus continues, "Simili quoque ratione, muros ecclesiæ in magna parte, quos longævus squalor pulveris deturpaverat, dealbavit." The notion that the use of whitewash is modern, or protestant, arises from mere ignorance. St. Wilfrid, in the seventh century, gloried in having washed the York minster of his day, "whiter than snow," and at Peterborough it was the boast of one of the abbats that he had so skilfully whitewashed his cathedral that it appeared as if "cut out of a single stone." St. Alban's and Westminster, the whole interior of which was distempered white and varnished, afford examples of the thirteenth century. The Liberate Rolls, from which numerous extracts will be found in Hudson Turner's "Domestic Architecture," supply instances of the same and of later periods. The fragments still existing of Dale Abbey, including the high altar and a fine canopied tomb, are covered by successive coats of whitewash in many cases nearly an eighth of an inch thick (cf. Journal of Derbyshire Archæol. Soc., i., p. 105). Yet this church was never in protestant hands, having been pulled down upon the surrender of the abbey to Henry VIII.'s commissioners.

^c "Opus frontale ipsius ecclesiæ, post quandam nimis damnosam ruinam, misertus ac miseratus abbas Willelmus, eo quod tam tædiosam moram protraxerit, suis humeris sibi suscepit supportando perficiendum. Quod infra breve tempus, cum tecto de præelecta materie, tignis, et trabibus, cum laquearibus, cumque vitreis fenestris, ad unguem perfectis, veteri operi, decenter plumbo coopertum, continuavit" ("Gesta Abbatum," i.),

As the question of the level of Trumpington's roof has given occasion to a recent controversy, I may state, in passing, the evidence for this conclusion as to the roof and ceiling of abbat William, although the existing paintings, with which we are here more especially concerned, belong of course to a somewhat later period.

Trumpington's "opus frontale ecclesiæ" included the rebuilding of four bays upon the north side of the nave, and five upon the south.⁴ The wall-plate of this work is some four feet above that of the norman walls, of abbat Paul's work, to the east of it. Therefore the level of at least one bay of the northern clerestory must have been raised, as is evident indeed from the building itself. The question therefore arises, was the same additional altitude given to the remaining eight norman bays? I think so, and for these reasons.

In the first place, Matthew Paris' words seem to me to imply this. What he says is, "Quod—sc. opus frontale ecclesiæ—cum tecto, cum laquearibus, cumque vitreis fenestris, plumbo coopertum, veteri operi continuavit." I do not see how a new roof can be said to have been made continuous with that of an existing building four feet lower than it, except by raising the latter. If this had not been done, one of the most conspicuous features of the exterior of the church upon the completion of William's new work would have been this awkward cripple, this break of continuity in wall-levels and roof-ridge. Could a constant eye-witness of this glaring defect have applied to such a clumsy junction the word "continuavit"?^e

Moreover, Trumpington, as we learn from the "Gesta,"^f renewed entirely the timber roofs above the norman aisles of the nave, "quæ putredine et teredine prius consumpta pluviam abundantem admiserunt." Is it at all probable that, if the aisle roofs were in such a bad condition as to necessitate so heavy an outlay, the great roof itself was in good repair and in no need of a similar renewal; beneath which he was about to erect his new "pulpitum," with the altar of the Holy Cross in front of it, adorned by a gorgeously-painted retable, and the great rood

p. 281). Observe the *tigna et trabes* of the roof distinguished from the *laquearia* of the flat ceiling beneath it. The following passage refers to the same work, and is interesting also in other respects:—

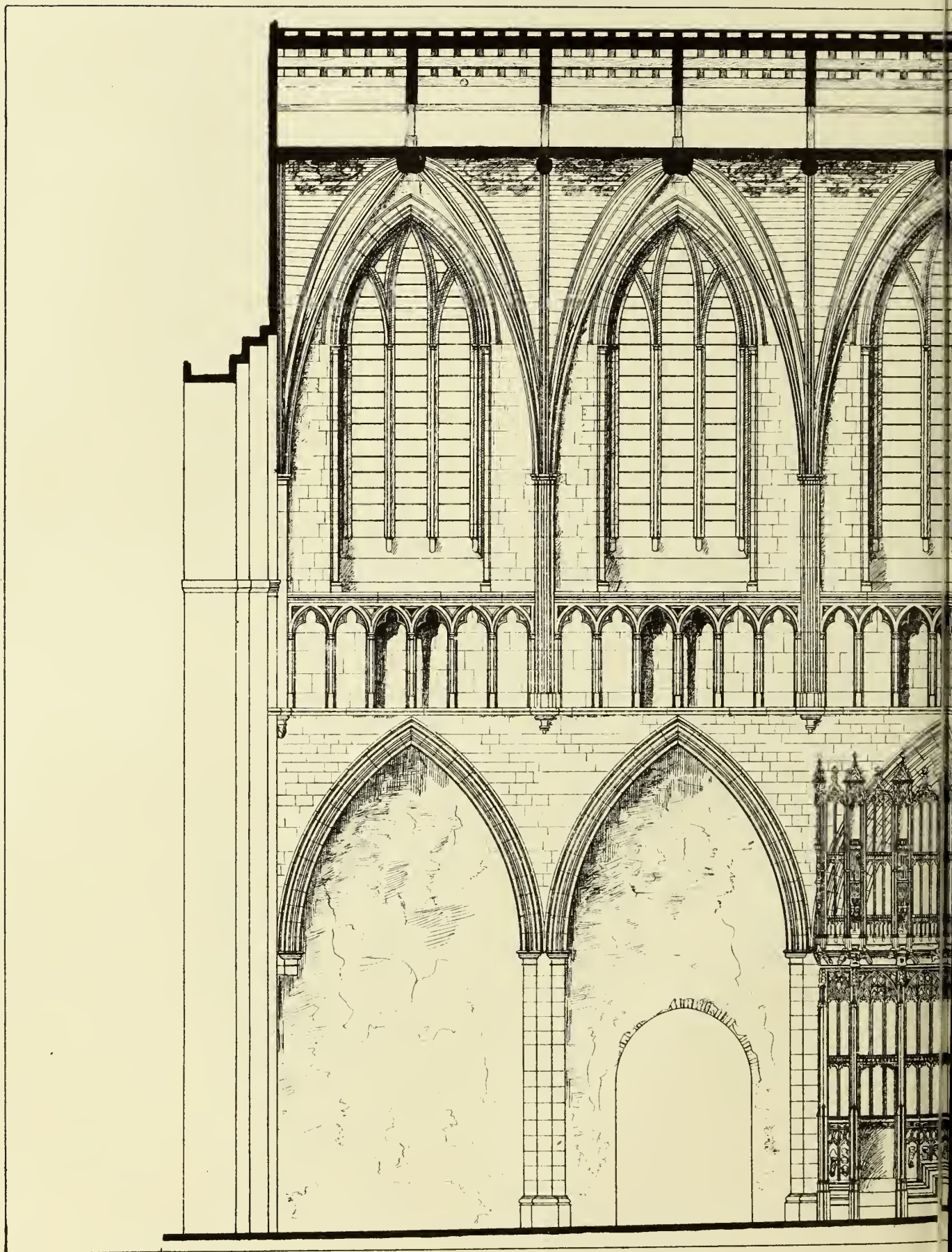
"Hujus quoque tempore, cum magister Walterus de Colecestre, tunc sacrista, (pictor et sculptor incomparabilis), pulpitum in medio ecclesiæ, cum magna cruce sua, Maria quoque et Johanne, et aliis celaturis et decentibus structuris, sumptibus sacristariæ, sed proprii laboris diligentia, perfecisset; ipse abbas Willelmus feretrum, reliquiis beati Amphibali, sociorumque ejus, a loco ubi prius collocatum fuerat (videlicet, secus majus altare, juxta feretrum Sancti Albani) in parte aquilonari, usque ad locum qui in medio ecclesiæ includitur pariete ferreo et craticulato, solemniter transtulit, altari decentissimo ibidem constructo, cum tabula et super-altari pretiose pictis.

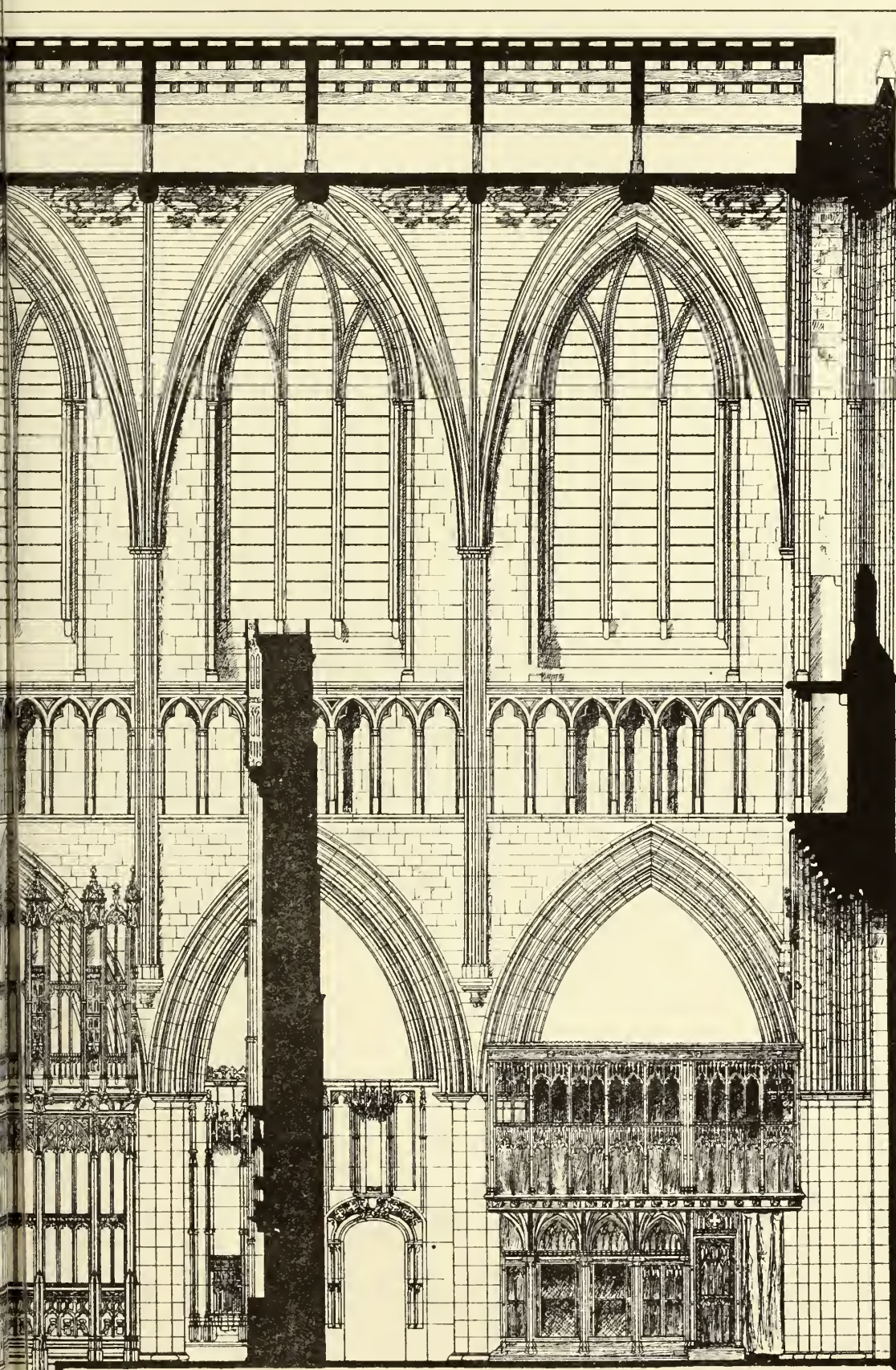
"Fecitque ipsum altare solemniter dedicari in honorem sanctæ Crucis, quia ipsum fuerat antea sanctæ Crucis, et in honorem Sancti Amphibali sociorumque ejus, quia ibidem eorum corpora requiescunt, ab episcopo Hartfordensi, Johanne. Et ab eodem fecit crucem magnam, ipso altari suprapositam, cum suis imaginibus consecrari." Ib.

⁴ The serious settlement which these five bays had undergone gave occasion, in 1878, to an operation to which the following remarks, in an appendix to my father's "Personal and Professional Recollections" (p. 377), have reference:—"The great work of forcing back to the perpendicular by mechanical means the south wall of the nave of St. Alban's abbey-church for some one hundred and five feet of its length, a wall sixty-six feet in height, which in the course of the length to be dealt with, overhung its base to the extent of two feet three inches, is an example of architectural engineering upon a large scale, which has attracted much attention: the more so, perhaps, since he who had devised the whole plan, which has been carried out with such complete success, did not live to enjoy the satisfaction of it." My father had devoted immense pains to the elaboration of the scheme, all the details of which he had most carefully contrived. It was carried out with perfect success only a few weeks after his death.

^e I need scarcely observe that "veteri operi continuavit" cannot be translated, "continued up to the old work." The latin of the *Gesta* may be "monkish," but it is not canine.

^f Ib., p. 280.





ST ALBANS ABBEY.

Section of Sanctuary looking North.

above it, and to deposit, within an enclosure of iron-work, the "feretrum" of St. Amphibalus and his fellow-martyrs.^g Is it probable that abbat Trumpington would have placed relics so sacred, and works of art so splendid, beneath a roof of the same antiquity as those in the aisles, whose rotten condition had just necessitated their entire reconstruction?

Within a century a catastrophe did actually occur to that portion of the nave in which stood these priceless objects of pious veneration and of art: but it was not the roof, which was the cause of the ruin which occurred upon the feast of St. Paulinus, in the year 1323.^h It was the norman piers which were in fault, of which two, upon the southern side of the nave, fell to the ground—"duæ magnæ columnæ partis australis ecclesiæ a fundamento primo deficientes cum horribili strepitu et fragore, ad terram successive, proh dolor (!) corruerunt." It is not, I think, an unreasonable conjecture, that the additional weight imposed upon the norman walls, by the increased height which Trumpington had given them, may have contributed to this catastrophe.

Nothing was done to repair the ruin, thus caused, for some twenty years, owing partly, no doubt, to the fact that the disaster did not seriously interfere with the use of the church, the quire of the monks, in the eastern part of the nave, being untouched by it, and partly to the pre-occupation of the then abbat, Richard Wallingford, who was engaged upon the construction of a wonderful clock. At length, however, Edward III., when, on a visit to St. Alban's "vidisset tam sumptuosum opus"—sc. horologii—"inchoari, ecclesia nondum reedificata post ruinam quam passa est temporibus Hugonis abbatis" (sc. Eversden), urged upon the abbat to undertake the rebuilding of the ruined bays.ⁱ A commencement was accordingly made, which was completed by his successor, Michael Mentmore (1335—1349), who consecrated, in this part of the church, three altars.^j

Now the five bays comprised in this work are of the same height as Trumpington's portion of the nave. It is exceedingly improbable that this would have been the case had all this portion of the church retained, up to this period, the original norman level. The new work would have necessitated, at any rate, the heightening of the norman clerestory of the corresponding five northern bays, and—either at the same time, or subsequently—the three remaining bays to the eastward must have had their walls raised to the uniform level which they now present. But of such an operation we find no hint in the "Gesta," nor, although the erection of the roof (tectum), or, possibly, the vaulting, of the five bays of the south aisle is described,^k do we find any mention of the new roof of this part of the nave, nor of that portion of it between the ruined bays and the great tower.

It is possible that the timbers of the portion of the roof which fell with the two piers—a roof, as I conceive, not norman, but of Trumpington's date—may have been in part re-used and so, as a work of mere reconstruction, "went without saying." However this may be, the fact remains that the "Gesta" has but one passage which can refer to the raising of the nave walls and its roof, and this is the "veteri operi continuavit" of the description of Trumpington's work. If it be objected that this is but a very slight notice, if such it be, of

^g Cf. "Gesta," i., p. 281, already quoted in full, in a preceding note. In a subsequent passage (ii., p. 129) there is mention made of the "columnæ marmoreæ tumbæ suæ," sc. St. Amphibali, and also of the "capsa lignea in qua ejusdem reliquiæ continebantur."

^h Cf. "Gesta," ii., p. 128. The passage, which is too lengthy to be quoted here, gives a remarkably graphic account of the calamity.

ⁱ Ib., ii., p. 281.

Ib., ii., p. 362.

^k Ib., ii., p. 361.

so extensive an operation, the reply is obvious that the operation, as a matter of fact, was carried out, for its result is before our eyes; and if this passage does not—as I conceive it does—describe the work in question, we have even less than a very slight notice of a very important and costly work—we have none at all.

The nave-roof, as it existed previously to the recent alterations, was of flat pitch. We have no record of the alteration of its form, no doubt because the ceiling itself, with its “*tigna laquearia*,”¹ was not interfered with, the flat roof being but a reconstruction of the timber-work above it out of the old materials. It was probably the work of abbat Wheathampsted, who died in 1464, and who is known to have erected the great west window. It is, however, certain from the internal evidence of its heraldic paintings, that the existing ceiling is much more ancient than this change in the pitch of the roof above it.^m

From these it may be proved to have been in existence some twenty years after the re-erection of the fallen portion of the nave was completed by abbat Mentmore (1335—1349), and the best part of a century before the roof above it was lowered to a flat pitch. I have little doubt but that it is virtually of Trumpington’s time, and is—in substance, at least—the same “*laquear*” which he put up—the same “*cælatura*” which that “incomparable painter master Walter of Colchester” executed under Trumpington’s rule, “at the expense of the sacristy, but by the diligence of his own labour.”ⁿ This painted ceiling is one of the most valuable and remarkable works remaining in England.

It is divided into two portions, that over the nave proper, and that over the quire. The former consists of cusped panels containing monograms. These have been repainted at a later date, and some of the panels are of deal, but upon those which are of oak, and therefore original, my brother has discovered the “pricking-out” of the old design, of which the existing painting is a rude, but by no means inaccurate, reproduction.

That portion which lies over the quire-stalls is a work of extraordinary interest. It has only of recent years been brought into view by the removal, under the care of Mr. Thomas Grylls, of some modern paintings, designed without any reference to the earlier work, which they served at once to conceal and to preserve.

For a detailed account of this unique work, and of the internal evidence of the date of its execution which it affords, I would refer the curious reader to the monograph of Mr. Ridgway Lloyd (than whom there is no better authority in all that concerns the history of St. Alban’s church) upon the subject. I will only state that the work was originally carried out, as is proved by Mr. Lloyd, about the close of the fourteenth century, and that it was retouched, and the design of its central panels completely changed about the middle of the fifteenth.

The design consists of panels containing, alternately, shields and legends: of each of these there are in each row of panels, three. Beginning with the legends, the six of the first two rows

¹ *Ib.*, ii., p. 129.

^m Mr. Ridgway Lloyd remarks, in his valuable paper upon the quire-ceiling, that its paintings must, as is clear from their heraldry, have been commenced—(1) after the death of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in 1368, as his arms do not appear; (2) before the death of the Black Prince, in 1376, and before the advancement of Thomas of Woodstock to the earldom of Buckingham, in 1377; and, further, that they could not have been completed before 1385, when Edmund of Langley became Duke of York, but must have been completed before 1403, since the arms of France, as quartered in the English coat, are represented in the ancient manner, which in that year was changed, by order of King Henry IV.

ⁿ *Cf. ib.*, i., 281, as quoted above (in a footnote).

(going from west to east, and from south to north) are sentences in honour of the B. Trinity, taken from the Sarum liturgy. The rest consisted originally of twenty-six, out of the twenty-nine, clauses of the *Te Deum*. In the central row, as I have said, an alteration was made by later artists, by which three clauses of the hymn were replaced, respectively, by the *Gloria Patri*, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and a figure of our Lord, forming—with the adjacent painting of the B. V. Mary—a representation of the coronation of our Lady.

The shields present the following bearings: in the first two rows are the arms of six saints—Edmund, Alban, Oswyn, George, Edward the Confessor, and Louis. In the next, those of the Holy Roman emperor, of “the King of the Jews” (a very remarkable coat), and of the emperor Constantine. Then follow the bearings of Spain, England, and Portugal; of Sweden, Cyprus (somewhat interesting now to Englishmen in view of recent events), and of the isle of Man. Then come two very singular pieces of heraldry—“the shield of faith,” and “the shield of salvation.” The central coat of this row disappeared in the fifteenth-century alterations. Then follow the arms of Aragon, Jerusalem, and Denmark; of Brittany, Bohemia, and of “the Lord Thomas” of Woodstock, youngest “son of the king,” Edward III.; of Sicily, Hungary, and France; then those of three of the sons of Edward III.—John of Ghent (the fourth son), Edward the Black Prince (the eldest), and Edmund of Langley (the fifth). In the last row are the arms of Norway, Navarre, and Scotland.

I would commend the study of this invaluable heraldic monument to the notice of English antiquaries, and its reverent preservation to the guardians of the church of St. Alban.

CHAPTER IV.

THE history of the production of the pointed style out of the preceding round-arched romanesque, is that of a constant striving after a more lofty proportion. This tendency may be traced for many years previous to the actual appearance of the pointed arch.

The norman builders had obtained a mastery over their materials, which made them dissatisfied with the massive piers, small openings, and comparatively low proportions, which had hitherto been adopted. The increasing knowledge of the science of construction, moreover, made them ambitious of bolder efforts.

The samesort of delight in novel and daring effects, which now leads our engineers to construct railway-bridges of wider, and still wider, spans, with iron of lighter and lighter scantling—even where stone and brick would be, at once, cheaper and more durable—had, to some extent, taken hold of the twelfth-century architects. They felt themselves to be masters of their material; and they were anxious to show their command of it, by raising arches to heights hitherto unattained, and by vaulting over spaces, wider than any which had hitherto been attempted.

There is a great sense of restless power about the works so produced—a constant striving after new and bolder effects—which contrasts very strongly with the calm and dignified character of the earlier phase of the style.

This may be illustrated by a comparison between the naves of Peterborough and of St. Alban's, but no mere description can convey an impression of the different stages of feeling represented by the two.

St. Alban's has all the quiet, self-contained dignity of the classic school. In Peterborough one feels oneself already in face with the restless energy of the gothic.

That this change was due, to a great extent, to other causes, than simply to the progress of architectural skill, cannot be doubted. The twelfth century was the period of a great religious and intellectual activity. This movement had commenced in the previous century, but it is observable that always a certain time elapses before an intellectual movement of this kind produces its effect in the sphere of art.^a

^a Thus the magnificent outburst of artistic power at Athens, and more or less throughout Greece, which characterised the

I shall, however, confine myself to the strictly architectural history of the transition; and, from this point of view, the cause which was most instrumental in bringing about those changes, which resulted in the formation of a new style, was, unquestionably, the scientific working out of the principle of groined vaulting.

The Romans, although they did occasionally make use of this construction, yet employed for the most part the barrel-vault and the dome. Even to this day, in purely classic work, groined vaulting is not common. What are termed welsh groins^b are more usually employed, as is the case, for example, throughout St. Paul's cathedral.

The peculiarity of the proper groin is this, that it gives, by the intersection of the two semi-cylinders,

age of Pericles, is not to be attributed to the essentially sceptical, and materialistic philosophy, which synchronised with it, and which is illustrated, in a striking manner, by the radically mechanical speculations of Anaxagoras—a personal friend of Pericles—of whom Aristotle complains that he named, indeed, *mind*, as the ultimate principle of things, but in his explanation of existent phenomena sought its aid only as a *deus ex machina*, whenever, that is, he was unable to deduce their necessity from any purely physical causes.

It was, in fact, the outcome of that very deep religious revival which preceded, by nearly a century, the artistic movement, and of which the essentially religious philosophy of Pythagoras was the scientific outcome.

So, too, in the present day, many of the great leaders in that great revival of true art, and of a genuine and almost popular love for it, which is now in progress, are themselves the victims of the feeble agnosticism, which happens to synchronise with the movement. But the real power of it is to be sought in that vigorous religious movement, with which the present century opened, and under which the shallow destructiveness of the eighteenth century has already almost disappeared. A mere materialism, a hopeless uncertainty as to the future of the individual and of the race, a blank scepticism, or an arbitrary agnosticism, have never, and never can, originate any advance either in art or in any other department of practical life. Such influences are, at their heart, destructive, and destruction is antithetical to edification, in the material, as in the moral sphere.

^b This peculiar form of vaulting has played (as we shall have occasion to observe later on), a very important part in the progress of our native architecture. The origin of the term—*welsh*, groin—I am, I must confess, unable to explain. To a Teuton, any foreigner is a *wälsch*; and to a German of the earlier ages the foreigner *par excellence*, the one stranger with whom he was brought, of necessity, in contact was the Italian. Thus for a German the Italian language was *die wälsche sprache*, and the Italian *noce* (to him, the distinctly foreign nut) was *die wälsche nuss*—whence our own *wal-nut*. But that this particular mode of groining was introduced into Germany from Italy at any early period, I am not, myself, prepared to state. I know, in fact, of no evidence bearing at all upon the question.

or barrels, of which it is composed, a cutting-line or arrise, extending in a plane diagonally from corner to corner. In the early norman work, as in the roman (where this form of groin is used at all), the arrises are left to show themselves as mere lines of intersection.

It is obvious, however, that such a mode of construction is, especially in rubble-work, inherently weak, and the question soon arose how it could be strengthened.

The necessity of this became the more urgently felt when the attempt was made to apply such vaulting to the wide span of the central nave, instead of resting content with the wooden ceilings, hitherto used.

In early times, where vaulting over large spaces was attempted at all, it was effected by means of barrel-vaults, as we see in the instances of St. Sernin at Toulouse, and of Gundulph's chapel in the tower of London. In this chapel, too, while the lower aisle is groined, the upper is covered, as we have seen, by a barrel-vault.

It had early become common to strengthen the simple barrel-vaults by transverse arches, and similar arches were also employed to divide the groined vaults of the aisle into separate compartments. It was, probably, from this system that the notion of strengthening the diagonal arrises of the groined vaults, by the addition of similar stone-ribs, arose.

This simple device does not appear to have occurred to the able architects of ancient Rome, and, had it done so, they would probably have felt it to be inconsistent with that repose, and gravity of effect, at which they were aiming. In it, simple though it may seem, was involved the whole constructional history of the succeeding styles. Until, in the fifteenth century, the invention of fan-vaulting introduced a new principle of construction, almost everything in the scientific progress of architecture may be traced to this, one, pregnant germ.

This novel conception at once enabled the builders, of the twelfth century, to attempt the vaulting of wider spaces than they had hitherto ventured to deal with. The steps through which this advance was worked out are curious.

It will be seen that a groined vaulting-bay, bounded by four semi-circular arches of equal height, is necessarily square. The nave, as well as the aisles, had therefore to be divided, for vaulting purposes, into square bays.

As a nave is, of course, much wider than its aisles, the nave-bays were, necessarily, of greater size than those of the aisles, and to meet the difficulty arising from this, the plan was adopted of so disposing the plan of the building that two bays of the aisle should be equal, longitudinally, to one of the nave.

Upon this system the width of the aisle was, of course, one half of that of the nave. There would thus be comprised under each arch of the nave-vaulting two arches opening into the aisle, corresponding with the distribution of the aisle-groins.

This plan was never actually adopted in England, in churches of a large scale, for a reason which I will explain, but naves so vaulted are common in Anjou, and in other parts of France.^c

In our own country, however, it was felt that these wide bays conflicted with that subdivision of parts, which the norman builders were more and more aiming at, and which was to be fully achieved only in the coming style. A very clever invention removed the necessity for these over-large nave-bays.

From the pier, which separated the two bays of the aisle, a rib was carried up transversely to the meeting-point of the diagonal ribs of the nave-vaulting. By this means the great vault of the nave becomes divided into six portions, instead of into four, and a sort of half-bay is produced in the nave-groin, corresponding with each of the smaller bays of the lateral aisle.

This ingenious device,—which is known by the name of *sex-partite* groining, given to it by Dr. Whewell,—was the firstfruits of the great invention of groin-ribs.

It would have been impossible to construct such a vault previous to the introduction of ribs: and in the clever winding of the surfaces, which this method requires, and in the ingenious manner in which the clerestory-windows are carried up into the irregularly-shaped lateral cells, we have—at once an example of the freedom, which the new element allowed of, and—an anticipation of its later achievements.

The true intersection of the two half-cylinders, of which a groined vault is composed would, of course, be an ellipse, and this is the form which the arrises of most of the early un-ribbed groins actually take.^d

^c There is, however, a charming example of the artistic capabilities of this system, in the hands of a thirteenth-century architect, at Boxgrove, by Chichester. Of this church, which is dedicated in honour of Sts. Mary and Blaise (the patron of the wool trade), the quire, transepts, and central tower still exist, and sufficient remains of the nave to indicate its general distribution and design. The quire is a most exquisite work, and its design is determined by that arrangement of the groining of the central area and of the aisles, to which I have been referring. The house was benedictine, and was subject to the abbey of Essey, in Normandy.

^d It is evident that towards the centre of the bay (defined by the intersection of the diagonal arrises) the diagonal lines, formed by the intersection of the two half-cylinders, would cease to exist as visible angular ridges, and would be lost. So that what had commenced—at the spring of the vault—as a salient right-angle, at its crown has become (if mathematically worked out), a straight line. Such an effect, however theoretically perfect, is unsatisfactory in execution. In idea, the intersection of the two half-cylinders, is continued diagonally right across the groin, although its expression in the form of a definite salient angle disappears at the crown of the vault, and practically ceases to exist—as an angle appreciable by the visual organ—at some distance from the crown.

The early norman builders were fully sensible of this unavoidable conflict between the ideal and the real. The intersection of the half-cylinders—if carried out, with mathematical precision, into practical execution—failed, as they instinctively perceived, to give expression to the mathematical idea. They therefore *accentuated* the lines of the intersection, towards their common apex, by *pinching-out* the plastered surface of the groin, so as to continue—in fact—the line,

This form, however, is both awkward in appearance and difficult of execution when applied to a vault-rib, and it was never in practice adopted. The ribs, whether wall or diagonal, were, as a matter of fact, set out to a circular sweep, either stilted, or struck from below the springing line, according as the width to be spanned was less, or more, than the transverse width of the bay itself.

It will be seen at once how clumsy is the semi-circular form of arch when applied under such conditions.

What the new system of groining, obviously, required to its further advance was a method of arching which, while retaining a fixed height, should be applicable to any width.

The necessity of this was especially felt in the arches of the wall-ribs—which had to rise as high as the arch which spanned the nave, and which yet had only one-half its width.

The semi-circular arch is singularly unmanageable in such a position. It has only one proportion, it can only rise half its span—neither more nor less—and it is only by the clumsy devices, on the one hand of stiling, or on the other of cutting off its lower portion, that the difficulties involved in the system of sex-partite vaulting could, in any degree, be met.

These depressed or segmental arches are, moreover, constructionally weak—especially, of course, at their apices—and the necessity of a new and better form of arch was thus forced upon the attention of architects, more and more, as they ventured to make use of the new invention of rib-groining with greater boldness.

The general tendency of the style, of which the advance in groining was a part, equally demanded a new form of arch.

Classical proportions having been completely discarded, and the utmost freedom being now allowed in the height of the column and the pier, it seemed most unreasonable that the arch should be restricted to one unvarying proportion.

The progress of architectural construction had therefore now arrived at a point beyond which it was impossible, under the limitations of a round-arched style, to carry it. To the next step a new form of arch had become indispensable. This, the structural necessities of rib-groining, no less than the general freedom of proportion, and of effect, demanded as a condition of their further advance.

The history of the origin of the pointed arch is obscure. Whether it was deliberately invented to meet the difficulties which I have explained—as some think—or was suggested by the intersecting round-arch arcades, so common in late norman work—as others have conjectured—cannot be known.

I am inclined myself to believe that it had been, from early times, in use in the east—just as the

round arch had been in Etruria,—and that it had been already adopted by the Saracens, though possibly not as a principle of construction.^e If this be so, its introduction into western Europe is to be attributed to the crusades.

Saracenic architecture is itself an outcome of the art of Byzantium, with the addition of certain elements which would appear to be traditional in the east. Many of those who, as crusaders, had become familiar with this—to them—new form of arch, would be capable of appreciating the importance of this suggestion to their architecture at the stage at which it was now arrived. Here was exactly what was wanted, and it is scarcely remarkable that the new idea, once introduced, spread with the greatest rapidity over western Europe. Everywhere the art was ripe for its reception.

The influence, therefore, of eastern art—due to the opening up of this new world through the crusades—and to the enlarged intercourse with the east, which resulted from the establishment, less than a century before, of the christian kingdom of Jerusalem, supplied that element which is required to explain the genesis of gothic architecture.

Medieval art is thus seen to have resulted from the combination of romanesque and saracenic art. Romanesque is the art of old Rome, as expanded by the free genius of the northern nations. Saracenic is the art of new Rome—Byzantium—modified by traditions and influences purely oriental. We have thus, in each factor of the total, that latin element, from the influence of which no portion of modern life is exempted, while in each factor appears also a new and even heterogeneous element.

The result of these two factors thus strangely compounded is gothic architecture.^f

^e An interesting parallel is presented in the very similar history of the *ogee* form of arch. This is unquestionably, in its origin, oriental. It has been employed in the east—as in the case of the great mosque at Delhi—upon a scale never attempted in Europe. I may observe that it is not in reality a form of arching, but of corbelling. If it be desired to cover-in, by corbelling, a large span, in an apparently—arched form, a difficulty will at once arise in treating that portion of the arched contour which is nearest to the apex of the curve. This difficulty suggested the adoption—in this part of the sweep—of a *reversed* curve, as appropriate in a system of corbelling, as it is unconstructural in a system of arching. Most of the great ogeed openings which form so striking a feature in the mohammedan architecture of India, are, in reality, corbelled, not arched. Now as medieval architecture advanced the necessity arose—particularly in window-traceries and such like—of a form of arch which should present at its apex a very acute angle. The style was ripe for an innovation, and once again—as in the instance of the pointed arch—the east supplied the hint how to meet the need which was felt. Ogeed arches can never be constructed—as arches—and they were accordingly employed, by the masterly builders of the middle ages, only upon a small scale, to which their construction—essentially one of corbelling—could, without danger to the stability of the fabric, be rationally applied.

^f Thus the history of the genesis of gothic architecture adds yet another illustration to the truth, which Mr. Freeman has expressed with such vivid force. “Eternal indeed Rome has shown herself, in her tongue, in her laws, and in the borrowed faith which, by her own law of adoption, she made her own. The spell which she once threw over

which exists, of necessity, in idea. This very subtle refinement has been lost in the recent vulgarisation of Gundulph’s chapel in the Tower of London, as in other norman buildings “restored,” by ignorant persons, to what they never were.

Continuing our review of the history of groining, I would observe that the introduction of the pointed arch did not at once alter the system. Sex-partite groins continued to be used, but the pointed arch was now introduced, especially in the transverse arches of the vaulting, where its employment made it possible to give to the diagonal ribs the form of an unmutated semi-circular sweep.

But the freedom which the new form of arch gave led very soon to another great step in advance. It was soon seen that, with pointed arches, it was as easy to groin an oblong space, as a square one, because—by this new form of arching—it was possible, upon any given base, to describe an arch of any required height.

The standing difficulty of round-arched groining was thus removed, and the sex-partite contrivance became unnecessary; since it was now easy enough to divide up the nave-vault into oblong bays, corresponding in width to the square compartments of the aisle-groins.

This great advance, in the gradual perfecting of groined vaulting, was rendered possible by the adoption of the pointed arch, and by that alone; and, once arrived at, it was never abandoned during the whole future progress of the style. It was even retained in those varieties of the revived classic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which northern influence, to a great extent, holds its own against the italian, and of which France and the Low Countries present the finest examples.

The new form of arch, once introduced, rapidly affected every detail of architecture. Yorkshire is particularly rich in specimens of the early phase of the new style—at Kirkstall we see the very first influence of the new principle: in Ripon and in Byland we have examples of its earliest completed development.

I have already dwelt upon the great romanesque invention of the subordination of the arch orders. The invention and perfection of rib-groining gave opportunity for a great extension of this principle.

The fashion of strengthening the barrel-vaults by transverse arches dividing up its length into bays had been inherited by the romanesque builders from the architects of imperial Rome.^g Accordingly when groined vaults first came into use they were, as we have already seen, commonly crossed upon the line of each pier by a transverse arch, to the support of which an engaged column was employed, while the starting of the arrise of the intersecting half-cylinders was carried—in the pier or respond

below—by a salient angle of masonry flanking the column.

As soon as rib-groining appeared, we find a distinct shaft assigned to the transverse arch—gradually waning into a mere transverse *rib*—and a second employed to carry the wall and diagonal ribs.

As the style began to aim at greater elegance separate shafts were assigned to the wall-ribs and to the diagonals, giving *three* shafts instead of *two*—or on a respond-pier, *five* in place of *three*, and the shafts naturally became less massive. The process was soon carried further, and the shafts become detached and stand free of the pier, to which they are tied by stone bands. The use of marble, now first introduced, rendered this construction easy and natural.

The intense interest, which the progress of so novel a mode of building excited, produced its effect upon every branch of the architectural art. Carving now began to take the place of the rude zig-zag work, and cushion capitals with which the norman builders had been obliged to content themselves.

It is particularly to France that this advance was due, and it is impossible to exaggerate the beauty of the carving of the french transitional period.

By some means—never yet satisfactorily explained—the french architects of the late twelfth century had become imbued with an influence distinctly greek. The type of foliage and of capital, adopted at this date, is founded directly upon the corinthian, and this—not the corinthian of the Romans, of which the french architects had models in their own country, but—the corinthian of ancient Greece, as handed down by byzantine tradition.

Thus, while at Ripon, for example, our own architects, dissatisfied with the cushion capital and the rude norman attempts at foliage, were employing capitals without any foliage at all, throughout the royal domain of France, the new buildings were being enriched with capitals which, in elegance, hardly yield to the classic works of ancient Athens, and, in vigour and invention, surpass them.

Upon this interesting question the late M. Viollet-le-duc,^h in his “Lectures on Architecture,” has made some remarks which, as it appears to me, are exceedingly valuable, and to which I have no hesitation in here referring.ⁱ Our author states the problem with characteristic French netteté.

^h The premature loss of this talented man is regretted—even in spite of his prompt abandonment of former patrons, imperial and clerical, upon the establishment of the third republic—by every archæologist.

ⁱ It is only right to state that my father, who had given as much attention to this matter as any man, did not agree with M. Viollet-le-duc's conclusions. He considered the works referred to by him to be of the date of the emperor Justinian, but his attention was drawn, by myself, to M. Viollet-le-duc's theories only a few months before his death, and his opinion might possibly have been modified, had his life been spared to us longer. I do not, myself, know enough of the subject to have any right to an opinion upon it, and only give M. Viollet-le-duc's theory as at least highly interesting, and for what it may be worth.

those whom she conquered, she now knew how to throw over those who conquered her. She won the Goth to restore her material fabrics, and the Frank to restore her political dominion. The local Rome has fallen from her high estate, but she is the Eternal City none the less. Wherever men speak her tongue, wherever men revere her law, wherever men profess the faith which Europe and the European colonies have learned of her, there Rome is still.”—“Comparative Politics,” p. 44.

^g The vault of the basilica of Constantine was, as is evident from the existing ruins, thus constructed.

"Under the empire of Rome the Greeks, in Greece itself as well as in Italy, felt themselves constrained to adopt the pompous taste of the Romans: how, then, can we account for the fact that, upon the establishment of the eastern empire, the Greeks found themselves in a position to apply novel forms to the roman structure, without any apparent process of transition? The key to the arts of the middle ages, both in the east and in the west, is to be found in the investigation and solution of this question."^j

M. Viollet-le-duc finds in the architecture of the jewish church, which christianity had opened out to the greek world, the source of this hitherto unexplained phenomenon, and it is certainly in favour of his bold speculation that it is in central Syria, in a region adjacent to the Holy Land, that we observe the earliest and most complete expansion of that germ which was destined to bear its fruit in the art of the twelfth and following centuries.

"The Greeks," he says, "became ardent converts to christianity, and naturally so, for it had been presaged by their own philosophers. They were the first, therefore, to betake themselves to the land which had been the cradle of the new faith—an easy matter, moreover, to them, as the country was a neighbouring one. When christianity began to overspread the territory of ancient Greece, intercourse with Palestine became frequent and necessary: and taking into consideration the versatile spirit of the Greeks, it was natural enough that they should seek the elements of a new art in that land which had witnessed the birth of the new religion." "I am aware," he continues, "of the prejudices that oppose this hypothesis: we have none of us forgotten the opinions of Voltaire respecting the Hebrew people, but I suggest that his very persistence in the endeavour to depreciate that people, and the wit which he employs in order to render it ridiculous, should put us on our guard against his views upon the question. One does not take so much pains to destroy that which has no veritable basis; and the warmth of Voltaire's attack upon this inconsiderable Jewish people is an indication of its real importance."^k

Our author, following M. de Saulcy, sees in the "Golden Gate" at Jerusalem, commonly attributed to the age of Justinian, an undoubted work of Herod the Great, while to the rock-hewn tombs—so-called—of the judges and of the kings, he attributes a far earlier date.

It is undoubtedly the case that, in these singular monuments, one does find an exact prototype of

that style of foliage, and even of moulding, which is characteristic of the architecture of central and northern France at the time of the first appearance of the pointed arch, and the fact, however one may be disposed to account for it, is certainly remarkable.

From France this style was introduced into England, although it was but slowly that the great advance thus made in the art of carving began to produce its effect in this country. Some of the best early examples of it, such as those at Canterbury, are distinctly french in type.

The capitals and bases continued, after the adoption of the new form of arch, to retain that square form which they had inherited, through romanesque, from classic architecture. As, however, each shaft had its own separate order or vault-rib to support, it seemed reasonable to set the capital, and its base, in the direction of the member of the groining which the shaft was designed to carry. From this it results that the plan of an early-pointed church indicates, by the position and direction, even of the bases, of its several shafts, the arrangements of the vaulting and arches above, and not a base could be worked until the design of the future groin had been determined. There is a logical precision about this system which is very fascinating. The whole building acquires, through it, an intellectual unity of design which cannot be too much admired.

In England, however, it prevailed only for a short period, although it reappears, strangely enough, in some examples of the later perpendicular style. In France, with whose eminently logical architects it had originated, it lasted much longer—it may even be said to have continued in that country throughout the whole course of the pointed style. For even in flamboyant work, after capitals had been entirely abandoned, it is common enough to see the whole design of the vaulting indicated by the bases of the pillars and responds, the vaulting-ribs dying apparently into the pier, and re-appearing, below, in the more salient portions of their bases, which emerge from the general contour of the great base, in which they are conceived as embedded. This is, of course, a highly abstract version of the early idea.

In its original form it, for a long while, satisfied the french architects, but it was soon felt by the english to be somewhat crude. The english mind, then as now, showed itself less disposed, than the french, to rest content with the results of the merely logical application of a principle. The square capitals, standing at different angles, were felt to be awkward and harsh, and to remove this purely æsthetic defect, the plan of the capital was changed from the square to the octagonal, or the circular form.

Two other causes contributed to this interesting advance. The first was the very particular attention which was paid by the english architects to mouldings.

The first innovation made upon the perfectly square

^j I quote from Mr. Benjamin Bucknall's translation (Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1876), p. 213 *et seq.*

^k One other nation, that of which he wrote—

"Ce peuple sot et volage
Aussi vaillant dans le pillage,
Que lâche dans les combats,"

shared with the Jews the honour of Voltaire's contempt. It was the French. Neither love of God, nor of Fatherland, inspired the evil genius of the eighteenth century, from whose shrunken heart both had alike died away.



WELLS CATHEDRAL-CHURCH.
INTERIOR OF THE NORTH PORCH.

arch-order of the early norman was the working of a bead upon its arrise, followed soon by the addition of filets and hollows. As the style advanced, greater richness was attempted in the sections, but it was now felt that further elaboration was impossible, so long as the square form of the order was retained.

The next step, therefore, was to design the mouldings upon a splayed contour, instead of on a square outline. This advance was not adopted in France until a very late period, and in that country the capitals accordingly remained square, almost until capitals ceased altogether to be employed.

This change of the general section of arch-moulds, however, determined the future of english gothic, and contributed, of course, to the general introduction of capitals of circular plan. Square capitals became unreasonable, so soon as the general contour of the arch-moulds had ceased to be rectangular.

The second of the causes to which I have referred, was a certain indifference of the english to architectural carving.

We have seen how, in norman times, the enrichments were generally mere mason's work. Chevrons and zig-zags take the place, in England, of the foliage so nobly developed in the french roman-sesque: what are termed cushion capitals are as characteristic of english norman, as a free imitation of the greek corinthian capital is of the corresponding continental style.

This difference arose in part, no doubt, from inability to execute the more artistic work.¹ The great enthusiasm which the rise of the pointed style evoked produced, indeed, in England, for the time, a very fine school of architectural carvers, and the elegance of its carving is one of the great beauties of the early english gothic. But it was found difficult to maintain this high standard, after the first excitement of the great transition had passed away.

The same cause which had led before to the invention of the rude cushion-capital now brought about the adoption of a new form of capital, consisting entirely of mouldings.

The earliest type of these moulded capitals is square on plan—examples may be seen at Ripon and at York,—but the superior elegance of the circular form is even more obvious in moulded capitals, than in foliated ones, and thus this new invention contributed, not a little, to the general adoption of the circular plan.

Thus were arrived at the three great characteristics of english early pointed—viz.: first, rib-groining: then the splayed contour of mouldings, with all that elaboration of section for which that invention gave the opportunity; and, lastly, the circular, moulded capital.

It is impossible to speak in too high terms of the works produced in this and in other countries, under the stimulus which the invention and first working-out of the new style applied.

¹ In part, too, in all probability, from the influence of the traditions of saxon art.

The transitional periods of architectural history are ever distinguished by works of more than ordinary power, and of this truth there is no more illustrious instance than is afforded by what is termed—*par excellence*—the transition. The peculiar merit of the buildings erected during these crises is due, no doubt, to the fact that the keen interest excited, at such times, by striking innovations, in an art which is always popular, when alive at all, attracts to its service men of a higher order of mind than is the case under more normal circumstances.

The ages of Pericles, of Augustus, and of Constantine, of the transition to the pointed style of architecture, and of the italian renaissance, are only conspicuous examples of a truth which is illustrated, in a degree, by every period of accelerated art-movement.^m

This period is, in the number and the vastness of the churches which it rebuilt or remodelled, second only—if it be second—to that which followed the norman invasion, and in the originality, and the high artistic value, of the works which it produced, it is certainly surpassed by none.

These works are so well known that I am dispensed from the necessity of dwelling upon them at any length.

I have selected for illustration the church of the Abbey of Dore, in Herefordshire, not only upon account of the singular merit of its design, but because the arrangement of its rectangular *chevet* is peculiarly english, and illustrates, in a strikingly beautiful form, a type to which I shall presently have to refer.ⁿ

This house, the *abbatia Dorensis*, was cistercian, and its church was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin. It derived its name from the *vallis de Dora*, so-called from the small stream which waters it. It was founded in the reign of Stephen, by Robert de Ewyas. King John made to it a considerable grant of land, and to this, perhaps, is to be attributed the completion of the eastern portion of the

^m In our country, in the course of the middle ages, the following periods (in addition to the Transition), illustrate, only upon a somewhat smaller scale, the same truth—that of the first introduction of the norman style, of the first complete working out of tracery, of the invention of the perpendicular manner, and lastly of the discovery of that new principle of vaulting known as the fan-groin.

ⁿ This church, owing to its situation among the Black Mountains, is not very well known. The view which I give of the interior of its eastern end is a fac-simile of a sketch by my dear friend Edward O'Brien, whose high genius—too early lost to us here—was the adornment of a singularly noble christian character. I am almost afraid to draw attention to this, or to any other little-known but precious monument, lest doing so should help on a "restoration" by which a venerable sanctuary may lose all its interest, and be reduced to as near a resemblance to a modern suburban meeting-house as the funds which can be got together will allow of, and it is remarkable how little it costs to achieve such a disaster. A very few five-pound notes—judiciously applied—will effect the virtual effacement of what years of violence and centuries of neglect, have spared to us. The process of Madame Rachel was not, I believe, a lengthy one, but while it failed to restore the sweet bloom of youth, it very effectually destroyed all that is venerable in age.

church as we now see it. This comprises a transept of two bays to each limb—making, with the square crossing-bay, five, an aisled presbytery of three bays, and an eastern double-aisle, of which more anon. The westernmost bay of the eastern limb differs in design from the other two, as the result of the position of the two towers, which are placed over those bays of the presbytery-aisles which open into the transepts. In consequence of this peculiar and very beautiful distribution, the arches which open upon the presbytery from these bays of the aisle are very narrow, forming, in fact, those *ostia presbyterii* which are required by the old english rituals, and of which we have existing examples at St. Alban's, Salisbury, and Canterbury, and the clerestories of this bay open into the second story of the towers. Each transept has thus one eastern chapel, and the quire of the monks occupied its normal position beneath the crossing-bay, extending, possibly, one or more bays into the nave. The whole has been groined, or, at any rate, was designed for groining, of which that of the aisles alone exists. These are constructed in the early manner, without ridge-ribs.

This work is peculiarly typical of the more advanced phase of the transition, both in the general character of its details, and in the fact that capitals, of the square and of the circular plan, are employed in combination.

The east end, internally, is a most lovely design. It presents that rectangular version of the french *chevet*, the wonderful beauty of which may well reconcile us to that abstinence from the apsidal form of the eastern termination—the most striking feature of the continental churches—which our own venerable traditions have imposed. The aisle is continued as a procession-path across the square east end, which is planned in three bays, and beyond this extends a row of chapels, separated from each other, originally, by low stone walls. Of these there are five, three behind the presbytery, and one somewhat wider, answering to each of its aisles. The whole is upon a very moderate scale, and the eastern aisle, with its chapels, is particularly so, and acquires from this circumstance a delicacy of effect which is perfectly charming. Indeed, to my mind, there is nothing better, in its way, to be found anywhere in England, and the architect who, having seen this rectangular *chevet*, can think of abandoning the most conspicuous tradition of our native ecclesiology, on account of a superior beauty to be found in the apsidal *chevets* of France, can have no true appreciation of architectural effect.

Square *chevets* of very similar plan are to be found at Glasgow, and at Roslyn, and although these are less perfect in conception than this little Herefordshire abbey,—inasmuch as their eastern end is distributed in two bays, instead of three, giving therefore four chapels in place of five,—they are yet wholly charming, and ought surely to render the adoption of a foreign treatment as uncalled for as it is unpatriotic.

In the presbytery stands the original high altar

of stone, re-erected, in the seventeenth century, by a descendant of John Scudamore, to whom the property of the abbey was granted in the 31st year of Henry VIII.^o

Before following the history of the more complete pointed style, it will be well to make a few remarks upon the history, during the period which I have just reviewed, of that rectangular form of sanctuary, of which the church of Dore affords so beautiful an example—which is characteristic of our own land, and which stands in such striking contrast with the apsidal terminations both of the christian basilicas of Rome, and also of almost all the great churches of continental christendom.

From the earliest ages of christianity two distinct ecclesiological traditions have, as we have already observed, been in conflict. Both are, in principle, identical, but each represents a different mode of satisfying the same ritual requirements. The one is native, so to speak, to our soil, the other is foreign.

Again and again in the course of ages has the native use succumbed for a time to the foreign importation, but in every instance it has in the long-run triumphantly re-asserted itself.

I have in a preceding chapter, exhibited the grounds for believing that the sanctuaries of the native british churches were rectangular.

When christianity became the recognised religion of the empire the churches of the roman colonists and officials of Britain were erected—like those of the capital of the empire—with apsidal sanctuaries.

Again, St. Augustine and his fellow-missionaries, quite naturally, re-introduced the italian type, but during the later years of the saxon period, the square end had virtually triumphed over its competing rival.

The norman conquest, for the third time in the history of the curious conflict, gave an artificial and temporary victory to the foreign plan. Indeed, it is curious to observe that—some years before the invasion—the normanising taste of the Confessor led to the adoption of the un-english model in his rebuilding of the abbey church of Westminster.

This appears clear from the description of this work in the *Vita Æduardi Regis*,^p published in 1858 under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. The passage runs as follows: "That portion of the building in which stands the high altar is erected with very lofty vaults, and finished in a circular form (*circumvolvitur*) with square and even-jointed masonry. The aisle which surrounds the sanctuary

^o To the same benefactor the church is indebted for a very beautiful high-screen of oak, in the style of his day, which serves, together with many others in all parts of the country, to testify to that re-action of catholic feeling which followed upon the death of Elizabeth. There are also some interesting wall-paintings of the same date. Altogether this church affords, or did so when I saw it, now many years ago, almost a precise english parallel to an untouched french church, to the charm of which it is impossible to give expression in words.

^p MS. 526 in the Harleian collection in the British Museum.

itself (*ambitus^a ipsius ædis*) is enclosed by two ranges of arches which start from either side (of the sanctuary), right and left, and the continuity (*compages*) of this work is ensured by a construction of great strength."^r

Almost all the great churches erected under the stimulus of the norman immigration exhibit the apsidal form, but no sooner had the Conquest become gradually tided over, and the conquering race had begun to coalesce with the conquered, than the square east-end began slowly, but steadily, to gain upon its foreign rival.

By the thirteenth century its triumph was complete, and although we see in the abbey church of Westminster one of the most complete and beautiful examples of the apsidal *chevet* to be found in christendom, the circumstances of its rebuilding, and the french tastes of king Henry, render it clearly an exceptional case. The language spoken (in the thirteenth century) in that monastery was, as abbat Ware tells us in his "*Liber Consuetudinarius*," neither latin, nor english, but french.^s

^a In the Rolls reprint (p. 417), this word appears as *abitus*. In 1868 I had to render into english the whole passage for my father, who wished to refer to it in his second professorial lecture at the Royal Academy, and while making this translation I became convinced that *abitus* could not make sense, and that *ambitus* must be the true reading. At my suggestion the original MS. was examined, with the aid of the experts of the library, and a mark of abbreviation was detected above the *a*, which had escaped the notice of the transcriber and editor.

^r It may be well to give the whole passage. I will only add that the bases of the piers of this *duplex lapidum arcus* exist below the pavement of the present sanctuary, and one of them may now be viewed, by means of a trap-door contrived for the purpose in the flooring, to the north of the high altar.

"Ad regis itaque præceptum opus nobiliter cœptum feliciter præparatur, nec impensa siva impendenda pensantur, drummodo Deo et beato Petro dignum et acceptum probetur. Principalis aræ domus altissimis erecta fornicibus quadrato opere parique commissura circumvolvitur; ambitus autem ipsius ædis dupplici lapidum arcu ex utroque latere hinc et inde foriter solidata operis compage clauditur. Porro crux templi quæ medium canentium Deo chororum ambiret, et sui gemina hinc et inde sustentatione mediæ turris celsum apicem fulciret, humili primum et robusta fornice simpliciter surgit, cocleis multipliciter ex arte ascendentibus plurimis tumescit, deinde vero simplici muro usque ad tectum ligneum plumbo diligenter tectum pervenit. Subter vero et supra disposite educuntur domicilia, memoriis apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, ac virginum consecranda per sua altaria. Hæc autem multiplicitas tam vasti operis tanto spatio ab oriente ordita est veteris templi, ne scilicet interim inibi commorantes fratres vacarent a servitio Christi, ut etiam aliqua pars spatiosæ subiret interjaciendi vestibuli."

^s "In qua quidem schola (sc. noviciorum) sicut nec alibi in claustris debet anglico ydionate aliquid proferri. Sed neque latino —, sed gallice jugiter, sicut et in capitulo, ab omnibus et a singulis in claustris est loquendum." Quarta pars libri consuetudinarii, scripta ad præceptum D. Richardi de Ware, abbatis Westmonasterii, anno gratiæ 1266, cap. xvi., Cottonian MS., otho c. xi. This, the fourth volume of the entire work, is the only portion of it known to be in existence. It was destroyed, as was supposed, in the burning of the Cotton Library, in October, 1731. Modern science and skill have, however, succeeded in restoring into a legible form its remains, "withered like a parched scroll." At the suggestion of my father, a transcript of this valuable MS. was prepared for the Dean of Westminster (Dr. Stanley),

Durham and Lindisfarne, to whose history I have had occasion already to refer, afford good examples of this fact. Each was rebuilt immediately after the Conquest, and in each case the new church was terminated by an eastern apse.

Early in the thirteenth century, Bishop Poore (1235-1241) commenced the destruction of the norman apse, at Durham, and the erection in its place of the eastern transept, that wonderful work known as the chapel of the nine altars, which is the noblest extant example of the rectangular mode of termination.^t This great extension of the original plan was not completed until (about) 1275, during the episcopate of Robert de Insula.

The priory church of Lindisfarne, as we have already seen, had been rebuilt under the bishops Carileph and Flambard, between the years 1093 and 1130. Its architect was Ædwardus, a monk of Durham, who, says Reginald, "built upon the island a church new from the foundations, in honour of St. Cuthbert, which he finished with squared stones, by the labour of his industry and by the gift of the faithful, with very elegant workmanship." This church, which had a nave of three coupled bays, and a transept of one bay on either side of the crossing was terminated by three apses. Of these, those which projected from the transept-bays were semi-circles, but the central one was elongated by the intervention of one square bay between the eastern limit of the transept and the commencement of the apse itself.^v

But in later years this semi-circular termination was, as in the case of Durham, removed, and a rectangular form was given to the sanctuary, the eastern wall of which now stands (but in ruins) some fifteen feet to the east of the original norman apse.

The struggle between the two plans continued, however, even after the victory of the native type was assured, and produced, in the course of the middle ages, many examples of a compromise be-

which is now in the library of the abbey. To this I had myself the interesting task of preparing an index. A second copy was, by permission of the Dean, written out for my father, and is now in my possession.

^t The description of this magnificent work, given in the "*Rites of Durham*," is particularly interesting. It is too long to be given here in full, but the following extracts will perhaps tempt the reader to consult the original. After giving the respective dedications of the several chapels which it contained, our author continues: "All the foresaid nine altars had their severall shrines and covers of wainscote overhead, in very decent and comely forme, having likewise betwixt everye altar a verie faire and large partition of wainscote, all varnished over with fine branches and flowers and other imagerye most finely and artificially pictured and gilded, conteyninge the severall lockers or ambers for the safe keepinge of the vestments and ornaments belonginge to everye altar; with three or four amryes in the wall pertaininge to some of the said altars for the same use and purpose."

^v "Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus," Surtees edition, p. 45, quoted in Monsignor Eyre's "*St. Cuthbert*," p. 229. He wrote between the years 1160-1172.

^w The foundations of this apse were discovered in the year 1821. Cf. Eyre's "*St. Cuthbert*," p. 232.

tween the two, which are as beautiful as they are suggestive. Lichfield is a charming example of the pure form: Pershore priory, Tewkesbury abbey, Winchelsea priory, St. Michael's, Coventry, and Gloucester cathedral,* are good illustrations of the intermediate type.

As a rule, whenever in England the apse occurs in work later than the commencement of the thirteenth century, the eastern bay and windows are larger than the lateral ones. This is the case, too, in the church at Stirling, a peculiarly beautiful example.

If, under peculiarities of circumstance, the apsidal termination should ever appear desirable, an english architect may learn from these admirable models how to concede so much as may be necessary to the foreign type, without withholding what is due to our native traditions.

The history of our medieval architecture has now been brought down to the complete formation of the pointed style.

We have ascertained the elements of which it was composed, and have traced their origin and their history. Each of these elements stands in direct contrast with the principles of the classic style, yet all are seen to follow logically from that expansion, which the roman style received in the hands of the teutonic nations, and, more particularly, of our own saxon and norman progenitors.

A few remarks will here be in place as to those changes in church-arrangement, which coincided with—though they can scarcely be said to have affected—the strictly architectural progress already described.

The principal innovations to which I shall here refer, form a uniform series, tending regularly in one direction.

The history of medieval ecclesiology, as it affected the structure of churches, may almost be summed up in one conception—the constant increase, in length and in architectural importance, of the eastern limb of that cruciform-plan, which all the larger churches exhibit.

In the basilica this member of the plan was merely a semi-circle, projecting but half its width from the line of the transept.

We have seen in central Syria, in such churches as Soueideh and Roueiha, the first step towards the medieval plan, in the elongation given, in these examples, to the apsidal sanctuary. In the church built by Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert, at Lyminge, there is no such extension, nor, so far as we can judge by the description of Eadmer, was there any such in the cathedral church at Canterbury, as enlarged by Augustine; although it is found (in the eastern apse only) in the very typical plan for the church of St. Gall. In those churches of the saxon period which remain unaltered, or of which we can trace the original plan, we observe,

commonly, a slight lengthening out of the eastern arm.

The first churches erected after the Conquest are a little more developed in this respect. Thus Lanfranc's church at Canterbury, begun in 1070, in imitation, as we have seen, of St. Stephen's, at Caen, has an eastern limb of two bays with aisles, in addition—of course—to the apse. St. Alban's, Winchester, and Ely, all commenced within some ten years of the erection of Lanfranc's church, show a length of four bays, instead of two.

But, at Canterbury, scarcely twenty years had elapsed before Ernulf, appointed, by Anselm, prior of the monastery, extended Lanfranc's presbytery, from two bays in length, to nine bays, beyond which again there was a seven-sided apse, the whole surrounded by an aisle, and furnished with a second transept, and three chapels in the chevet.

The expansion of the simple basilican apse into a vast choir, such as that of Ernulf, is one of the most striking features in the whole history of ecclesiology, and it is very noteworthy that nowhere but in England did this eastward extension attain such extraordinary dimensions. The vast length of our great minsters, by which they are conspicuously distinguished from the great continental churches, is due principally to this extension of their eastern limb.

In spite, however, of this magnificent innovation, the position of the high altar, and of the ritual choir, remained for a long while unaltered.

The short eastern arms of St. Stephen's, at Caen, of Lanfranc's cathedral, or of Kirkstall Abbey, are nothing but elongated versions of the basilican sanctuary, an elongation determined mainly, as I believe, by that benedictine custom which placed, in advance of the high altar, a second altar for the celebration of the matutinal mass. They were, in fact, long sanctuaries, not short quires. The choir—like the *chorus cantorum* of the basilica—was still placed under the crossing, or extended across it into the eastern bays of the nave.

This arrangement, so characteristic of early norman churches, is simply that of the primitive basilica. Like it, it assigns a distinct constructional division of the church to the altar-area, while the quire is treated as a mere enclosure of convenience, and is ignored in the planning of the fabric.

The change effected as the Middle Ages passed on, is very significant. The monks, as a matter of fact, pushed forward their quire, out of the nave, eastward into the sanctuary, which was therefore lengthened to receive them.

The constructional division which had once severed, monks and people alike, from the altar-area, now severed the people from the monks; while no structural division now intervened between the quire of the monks and the sanctuary itself. The monks had, in fact, come within the sanctuary, and the laity alone remained without in the nave.^x

* In this case the suggestion of the apsidal form is exceedingly subtle.

^x Lenoir mentions ("Archit. Monast.," i., p. 187) that at Cluny "la communion des laïques se faisait à travers une

The primitive arrangement was retained at Ely until the last century, and it exists to this day at Westminster, at Norwich, and at St. Alban's.

The immense expansion of the eastern limb remained, all through the middle ages, the great peculiarity of our English churches. There are few parish churches upon the continent which can compete with ours in the proportionate length of their chancels, and there are no cathedrals, which in the architectural importance of their quires, can rival ours.

The cathedral church of Canterbury illustrates in so very conspicuous a manner this great innovation, which is characteristic of our medieval ecclesiology, that a short review of its history during the period with which we are now dealing, will serve to illustrate the facts to which I have been referring.

I have already, in previous chapters, given a sketch of the history of this church—the seat of the metropolitan of all England—from the earliest ages down to the period of the primacy of Lanfranc, and it will, therefore, be fitting here to dwell, in some detail, upon the changes which it underwent during the two succeeding centuries.

Of the general plan and dimensions of the church of Lanfranc I have already spoken. The new church stood upon the same site as the ancient one—originally “erected by the labour of Roman believers,”^y and extended by St. Augustine—as is evident from Eadmer's account of the rebuilding. Before the new works commenced Lanfranc “commanded”—these are his words—“that the bodies of the saints, which were buried in the eastern part of the church”—that is, in the portion erected by Augustine—“should be removed to the western part, where stood the oratory of the blessed Virgin Mary”—that is to say, into the apse of the primitive Roman basilica. Of this translation Eadmer was himself an eye-witness.^z “But in process of time,” he continues, “as the new work of the commenced church proceeded, it became necessary to take down the remainder of the old work”—that is, the venerable western apse—“in which the bodies of the saints just mentioned had been (temporarily) deposited,” in order, of course, to carry out the western portion of the new nave, of which, in spite of its subsequent transformation into the perpendicular style there are still certain remains.^{aa}

grille de fer disposée *ad hoc* au *septum*, parce que même pour communier, on ne pouvait entrer dans le chœur.” He gives as his authority for this statement Martene (“Voyage lit. Cluny” i., p. 229).

^y Gervase says “Eadmer, the venerable cantor, in his *opuscula* describes the ancient church built in the Roman manner, which archbishop Lanfranc, when he came to the see, utterly destroyed, finding it in ashes.” Cf. Willis's “Canterbury,” p. 36.

^z “Testis enim est mihi—quia cum adhuc in scholis puerulus essem, &c.” Cf. Willis's “Canterbury,” pp. 14, 15.

^{aa} Cf. Willis's “Canterbury,” p. 64. The north-western tower of Lanfranc's church existed complete until 1834, when, with a truly masterly stupidity, it was destroyed, as I have

Its arrangement, with which we are now alone concerned, must, as is evident from Gervase's account, have been similar to that which still exists at Westminster. Gervase's description, however, only extends to the eastern limb of the transept. “You must know,” he says, “good reader, that I never saw the quire (*i.e.*, the eastern limb or presbytery) of Lanfranc, neither have I been able to meet with any description of it. Eadmer, indeed, describes the old church, which, before the time of Lanfranc, was constructed after the Roman manner. Also he mentions, but does not describe, the work of Lanfranc which succeeded this old church” (Willis's “Canterbury,” p. 42). But what Gervase does state is sufficient, taken together with the remains existing, here and elsewhere, to show us what was the general distribution of the original Norman building.

The short eastern limb constituted the presbytery, and was raised upon a crypt. It was probably separated from its aisle, as in the case of St. Alban's, by unpierced walls.

The crossing-bay constituted, as it does to this day at Westminster, that space, which (as Leland, speaking of Salisbury, well describes it) “standeth as a light and division betwixt the quire and the presbytery.” Its pavement was lower than that of the eastern limb, but was elevated many steps above that of the body of the church. Upon each side of it were the doors of the presbytery, those *ostia presbiterii* so often alluded to in the Salisbury “De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Tractatus,”^{bb} and indeed essential to the performance of the old English rite, and here too was, no doubt, erected the matutinal altar.

The quire of the monks was wholly in the nave, immediately to the west of the transept.^{cc} Of the exact position of the high altar and of the various shrines we have no account.

The case is, however, very different with regard to the next stage in the history of this church, that “glorious quire of Conrad,” as Gervase terms it, to make way for which the presbytery of Lanfranc was pulled down, after it had stood but twenty years.

No reason for this destruction of a comparatively

already had occasion to notice, in order to allow of the erection of a mere copy of prior Goldston's fifteenth-century tower, which stood to the south of it.

^{bb} Given in full in an appendix to Dr. Rock's “Church of Our Fathers,” vol. iv., a work, the value of which one may not easily exaggerate.

^{cc} The arrangements of Lanfranc's church are a matter of inference rather than of direct evidence. I have arrived at the above conclusions, by a comparison of what is known of the early Norman distribution at St. Alban's and elsewhere, with what little can be gathered with regard to Canterbury. In such a comparison it must be remembered, 1. That Lanfranc's church possessed a crypt, while St. Alban's did not. This crypt did not probably extend under the side-aisles or chapels of the eastern limb, just as at Westminster the elevated area of the presbytery and apse does not affect the levels of the surrounding aisle. 2. That the eastern arm of Lanfranc's church was in all probability considerably shorter than that at St. Alban's, and that therefore the *ostia presbiterii*, which in the latter case are placed in the westernmost bay of the presbytery, were planned, in the former, in the crossing-bay.

new work is recorded, but after the review, which we have already taken, of the history of the development of the medieval model out of its basilican prototype, we can well understand the causes which determined the change, and it is interesting to note that the work owed its origin and its success to the suggestion and the assistance of Lanfranc's immediate successor, St. Anselm (1093-1109).

This work, by which the area of the church was doubled, is thus a dated example, and it enables us to give the precise period of the introduction of the great medieval innovation, by which the quires of the religious (and of the secular canons) were transferred, from their primitive position in the nave, into the eastern limb, hitherto reserved for the sanctuary alone.

Of this great work, Gervase, an eyewitness, has left us a full account, and it is to be noted that in this, probably the earliest example of that radical departure from the basilican arrangement, which is so characteristic of the middle ages, we find also the earliest example of a secondary, or eastern transept.

This is a feature peculiarly English. It is found at Lincoln, Salisbury, Beverley, and York, and I attribute its origin to a desire to adhere to early basilican traditions, in despite of the great innovation which had moved the quire of the monks out of the nave into the eastern limb. The great transept, which had originally intervened between the sanctuary and the *chorus cantorum*, had now come to serve as the constructional demarcation between nave and quire. But its primitive intention was not lost sight of by the medieval ritualists, in spite of the radical change of arrangement which they had introduced. It was this feeling which led, as I believe, to the introduction of a second, and subordinate transept, to the eastward of the ritual quire, which should continue to separate off (as the greater transept had once done) the sanctuary itself, from all the rest of the church.

In Anselm's quire we see this eastern transept in its rudimentary form. Although upon the plan it is well defined, it was, in this, the first instance of its appearance, ignored in the design of the eastern limb; which was carried across it unbroken, two bays of the internal elevation taking up the space which, in the reconstruction after the fire of 1174, is occupied by one wide crossing-bay, opening into the, then fully-recognised, eastern transept.

Let us now take notice of the arrangements of the church as enlarged during the primacy of St. Anselm.

In the midst of the nave (Lanfranc's work) was suspended a gilded *corona* or chandelier. Across the western arch of the central tower was erected a screen surmounted by a loft (*pulpitum*), which "had in its midst, upon the side toward the nave, the altar of the holy cross." "Above the *pulpitum*, and placed across the church, was the beam, which sustained the great cross, two cherubim, and the images of St. Mary and St. John the apostle."^{dd}

^{dd} Gervase, in Willis's "Canterbury," p. 37.

On either side of this, the people's altar, the screen was pierced by a doorway.^{cc} An ascent of many steps in front of this screen led upwards from the nave-level to that of the area of the crossing-bay (beneath the central tower), and by a similar ascent, access was obtained from this intermediate level to that of the quire itself, through a second screen, under the eastern arch of the tower, pierced by one central doorway.

This was, indeed, the normal benedictine arrangement. At St. Alban's, the westernmost screen (known as St. Cuthbert's screen) still exists, and the foundations of the second, situate one bay eastward, have recently been discovered. There are indications of a similar distribution in the cathedral of Norwich. The author of the "Rites of Durham" describes a similar arrangement. In this instance, as at Canterbury, the two screens occupied the eastern and western sides of the crossing-bay beneath the central tower.

"In the former part of the quire," says this writer, "of either side, the west dore, or chief entrance thereof, without the quire dore in the lanthorne, were placed in their severall roomes, one above another, the most excellent pictures all gilted, verie beautifull to behould, of all the kinges and queenes, as well of Scotland as England, which weere devout and godly founders and benefactors of this famous church" (p. 17). Upon this screen was placed the great organ. The church possessed three.^{ee}

Of the westernmost screen our author gives the following description (p. 28):—"In the body of the churche, betwixt two of the hiest pillors supportinge and holding up the west syde of the lanterne, over against the quere dore, ther was an alter called "Jesus Alter," where Jhesus mess was song every fridaie thorowe out the whole yere. And of the back-syde of the saide alter there was a faire high stone wall: at either end of the wall there was a dore, which was lockt every night, called the two roode dores, for the procession to goe furth and comme in at; and betwixt those two dores was Jhesus Alter placed as is afforesaide. And at ether ende of the alter was closed up with fyne wainscott, like unto a porch adjoyning to eyther roode dore, verie fynely vernished with fyne read vernishe; and in the wainscott, at the south end of the alter, ther was four faire almeries, for to locke the chalices and sylver crewetts, with two or three sewts of vestments, and other ornaments, belonging to the said alter, for the holie daies and principall daies. And in the north end of the alter in the wainscott, there was a dore to come in to the

^{cc} *Ib.*, p. 41.

^{ee} "One of the fairest paire of the three did stand over the quire dore, only opened and played uppon at principall feasts, the pipes beinge all of the most fine wood and workmanship, very faire, partly gilted uppon the inside, and the outsides of the leaves and covers up to the topp, with branches and flowers finely gilt, with the name of Jesus gilted with gold. There was but two paire more of them in all England of the same makinge, one paire in York, and another in Paules" (p. 14).

FIG. I. WORK OF LANFRANC A.D. 1070-1077. X WORK OF S. ANSELM & HIS SUCCESSORS A.D. 1093-1130

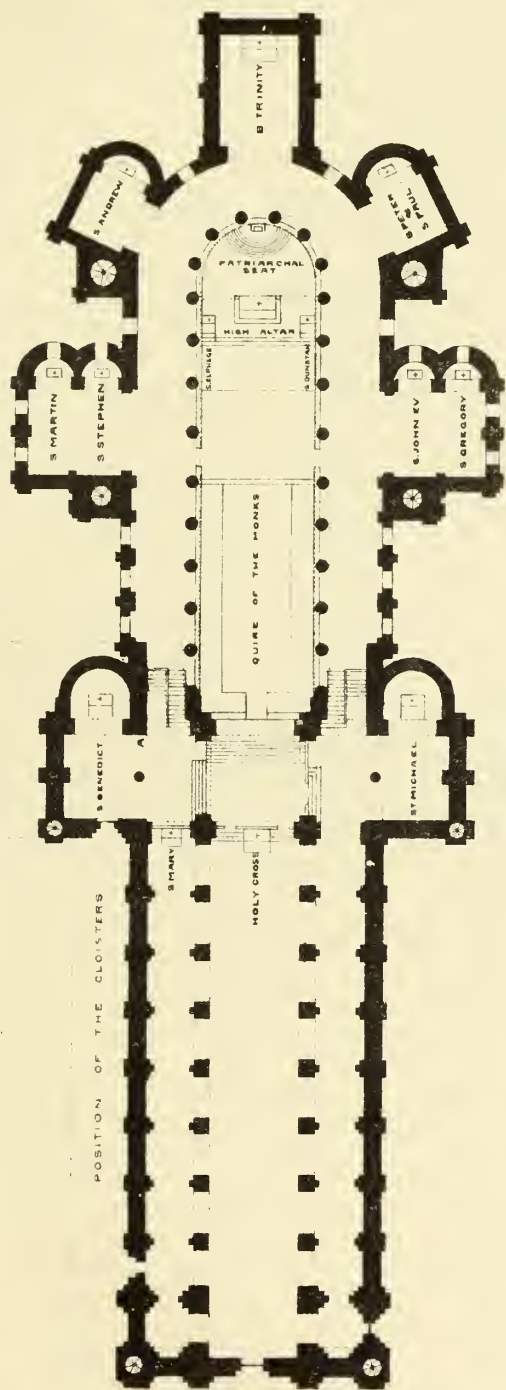


FIG. II. WORK OF LANFRANC A.D. 1070-1077. X WORK OF A.D. 1093-1130 AS RESTORED & ENLARGED BY THE TWO WILLIAMS A.D. 1173-1184.

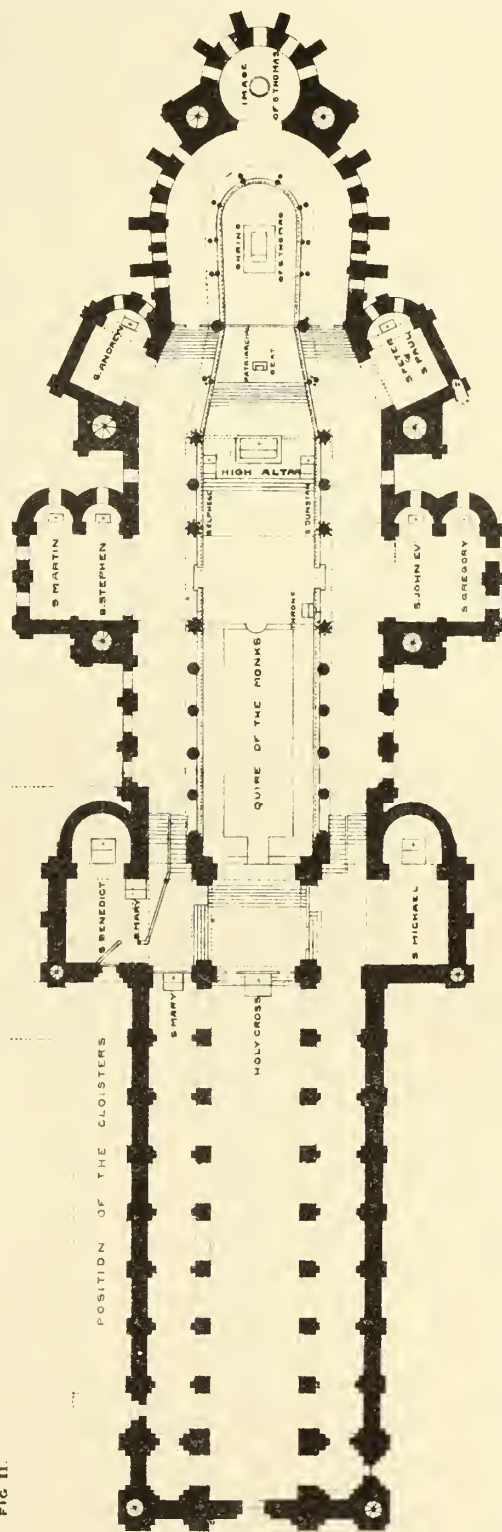


FIG. I. PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL-CHURCH OF CANTERBURY, AS ENLARGED BY ST. ANSELM.
FIG. II. PLAN OF THE SAME, AS FURTHER ENLARGED AFTER THE FIRE OF A.D. 1174.

said porch, and a locke on yt, to be lockt both daie and nighte. Also ther was standing on the alter against the wall aforesaid a moste curiouse and fine table, with two leues to open and clos againe, all of the hole passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, most richlye and curiously sett furth in most lyvelie coulors, all like the burninge gold, as He was tormented, and as He honge on the cross, which was a most lamentable sighte to beholde. The which table was alwaies lockt up but onely on principall daies. Also in the fore parte of the said porch, from the utmoste corner of the porch to the other, ther was a dore with two orode leues to open from syde to syde, all of fyne joined and through-carved worke, the height of yt was sumthinge above a man's brest; and in the highte of the said dore yt was all stricken full of irons piks, that no man should clymme over, which dore did hing all in gymmers and clasps in the insyde to claspe them. And on the principall daies when any of the monks said mess at that alter, then the table was opened which did stand on the alter, and the dore with two leues which stode in the fore parte of the said closett or porch was sett open also, that every man might comme in and se the said table in manner and forme as is aforesaid. Also there was, in the hight of the said wall, from pillar to pillar, the whole storie and passion of our Lord wroughte in stone most curiously and moste fynely gilte, and also above the said storie and passion, was all the whole storie and pictures of the XII. Apostles verie artificially set furth, and verie finely gilte, conteninge frome the one pillar to the other, wrowght verie curiously and artificially in the said stone. And on the hight above all theses foresaide storyes, from pillar to pillar, was sett up a border (brattish), very artificially wrowght in stone, with mervelous fyne coulors, very curiously and excellent fynely gilt with branches and flowers, the more that a man did looke on it the more (desires he had and the greater) was his affection to behold yt, the worke was so fynely and curiously wroughte in the said stone that it cold nott be fynelyer wroughte in any kynde of other mettell. And also above the hight of all, upon the waule, did stande the most goodly and famous roode that was in all this land, with the picture of Marie on the one syde and the picture of John on the other, with two splendent and glisteringe archangels, one on the one syde of Mary, and the other of the other syde of Johne. So, what for the fairness of the wall, the staightlynes of the pictures, and the lyvelehoode of the paynting, it was thought to be one of the goodliest monuments in that church."

This very vivid description may enable one to realize what was the effect of the very similar arrangements at Canterbury. One of the great monastic churches of Erfurt, in Saxony, retains the two screens unaltered. I may remark that in such cases the rood, and its beam, were placed above the western of the two enclosures, and such, no doubt, was the case in the church of Anselm.

Gervase further speaks of the triforium (*qu.*

thorough-farium), from which *pallia* and curtains might be suspended,^{gg} and also of the flat-boarded ceiling decorated with excellent painting.^{hh}

The stalls of the monks extended eastward, as far as the western side of the smaller transept, at which line there was an ascent of three steps "from the quire to the presbytery," forming the *gradus chori*, an essential feature in every medieval church.ⁱⁱ

From the pavement of the presbytery to that of the high altar, there was a further rise of three steps, to the eastward of which was placed the patriarchal throne, again elevated eight steps above the altar-area.

On either side, in advance of "the great altar dedicated in the name of Jesus Christ," were the altars of Sts. Dunstan and Elphege, with their holy bodies.

Between the piers of the quire and presbytery "there was a wall built of marble slabs, which, surrounding the quire and the presbytery, divided the body of the church from its aisles. This wall enclosed the quire of the monks, the presbytery, the high altar, the altar of St. Dunstan, and the altar of St. Elfege: above this wall, in the circuit behind, and opposite to the altar, was the patriarchal seat, formed out of a single stone, in which, according to the custom of the church, upon high festivals, the archbishops were wont to sit during the solemnities of the mass, until the consecration of the blessed sacrament, upon which they came down the flight of eight steps in order to approach the altar of Christ."

I may observe in passing that this description of the monk Gervase is well illustrated by the evidences of the norman arrangements which still exist at Norwich cathedral.

The quire of the monks, at Norwich, was placed west of the crossing-bay in the nave, from which it was divided at its western extremity by two screens. The ascent from the quire to the high altar is very moderate, but the episcopal throne, fragments of which still remain *in situ*, was elevated upon a platform more than six feet above that of the altar-area.

This, the primitive arrangement of the episcopal *cathedra*, as it is described to us in the apocalypse (of St. John the Divine) is preserved to this day, in spite of all the changes that christendom has undergone, in St. Peter's at Rome. Once only have I myself seen a christian bishop occupying this his ancient and venerable position. The throne was in this

^{gg} *Ib.*, p. 41.

^{hh} *Ib.*, p. 43.

ⁱⁱ This ascent of steps is still preserved, and Willis observes (p. 108) that, west of it, "the pavement is of grey marble in small squares, but eastward is of large slabs of a peculiar stone or veined marble, of a delicate brown colour. When parts of this are taken up, for repair or alteration, it is usual to find lead which has run between the joints of the slabs, and spread on each side below, and which is, with great reason, supposed to be the effect of the fire of 1174, which melted the lead of the roof, and caused it to run down between the paving stones in this manner. This part of the pavement is consequently the undisturbed pavement of Conrad's (Anselm's) quire."

instance the *cathedra Petri*, in the vatican basilica, and the occupant was the president of the vatican council.^{jj}

It is interesting to observe that the distribution of our own metropolitan cathedral, so far as regards the position of its "patriarchal seat," was, until the primacy of Howley, essentially that of a primitive christian basilica. Only in the present century has this tradition—derived from the first ages, and exhibited by every early basilica—in this the one church in England in which it had hitherto survived, been broken through.

Of the arrangement of the high altar itself, Gervase gives an interesting account. "At the eastern horns of the altar," he says, "were two wooden columns gracefully ornamented with gold and silver, and sustaining a great beam, the extremities of which rested upon the capitals of two of the pillars"—those, namely, from which the apse commenced. "This beam, carried across the church, above the altar, and decorated with gold, sustained a representation of the Lord in majesty (*majestatem domini*), and images of St. Dunstan and St. Elfege, together with seven shrines (*scrinia*) covered with gold and silver, and filled with the relics of divers saints. Between the columns there stood a gilded cross, of which the centre was surrounded by a circle of sixty transparent crystals."^{kk}

Of the crypt it is only necessary to observe that it extended beneath the whole of the church, eastward of the great transept, and that the quire-aisles were, in the bays adjacent to the transept, divided into two breadths—"that is, for the few steps by which the crypt is gained" (these were placed against outer walls), "and for the many steps by which the upper parts of the church are reached," *i.e.*, the quire-aisles, and the quire itself, situated at the higher level above the crypt.

^{jj} In a work entitled "Rome, Turkey, and Jerusalem," the author, a canon of Canterbury, thus refers to this retention of the primitive rite:—"I cannot forbear the mention of one illustration of a verse in that prophecy (2 Thess. ii.) which I saw myself in Rome. Many people think that the description in the fourth verse is too strong for popery, but there is a curious illustration of it in St. Peter's. You may there see what they call the altar in the usual place at the end of the chancel, and above it, surrounded by an elaborately decorated *eredos*, is what is called the chair of St. Peter, or the pope's throne, the seat of papal power. On the altar below, according to their own teaching, is the living person of the King of Glory, perfect God and perfect man, and in front of that altar may be seen men worshipping the wafer because they call it God. But above it is the pope's chair, and if he were to occupy it, he would sit there with that which they call God, and worship as God beneath his feet. Can anything be a more exact fulfilment of the words, 'opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped'?"

An attempt to prove the anti-christianity of the bishop of Rome from the fact that he, almost alone among christian bishops, adheres in this particular to the usages of primitive christianity, seems a little unfortunate. It is in contemplation to restore the archiepiscopal *cathedra* of Canterbury to that ancient and primitive position, which at Rome it has never lost. Would the learned canon's respected diocesan, the primate of all England, thereupon become an *homunculus peccati*, and *filiolus perditionis*?

^{kk} Willis's "Canterbury," p. 44.

Such were the arrangements of the church of Anselm, which the description of the monk Gervase enables us to realise with a vividness to which professor Willis's masterly investigation of the scant remains of it still existing, has added scientific precision.^{ll}

In the north transept of the church of Lanfranc, thus enlarged by St. Anselm's priors, and just in front of a portion of its eastern wall which intervened between the north aisle of the presbytery and the apse of the transept chapel (the altar of which was dedicated in honour of St. Benedict), there occurred, in the year 1170, an event, ever memorable in the history of the church in England, the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

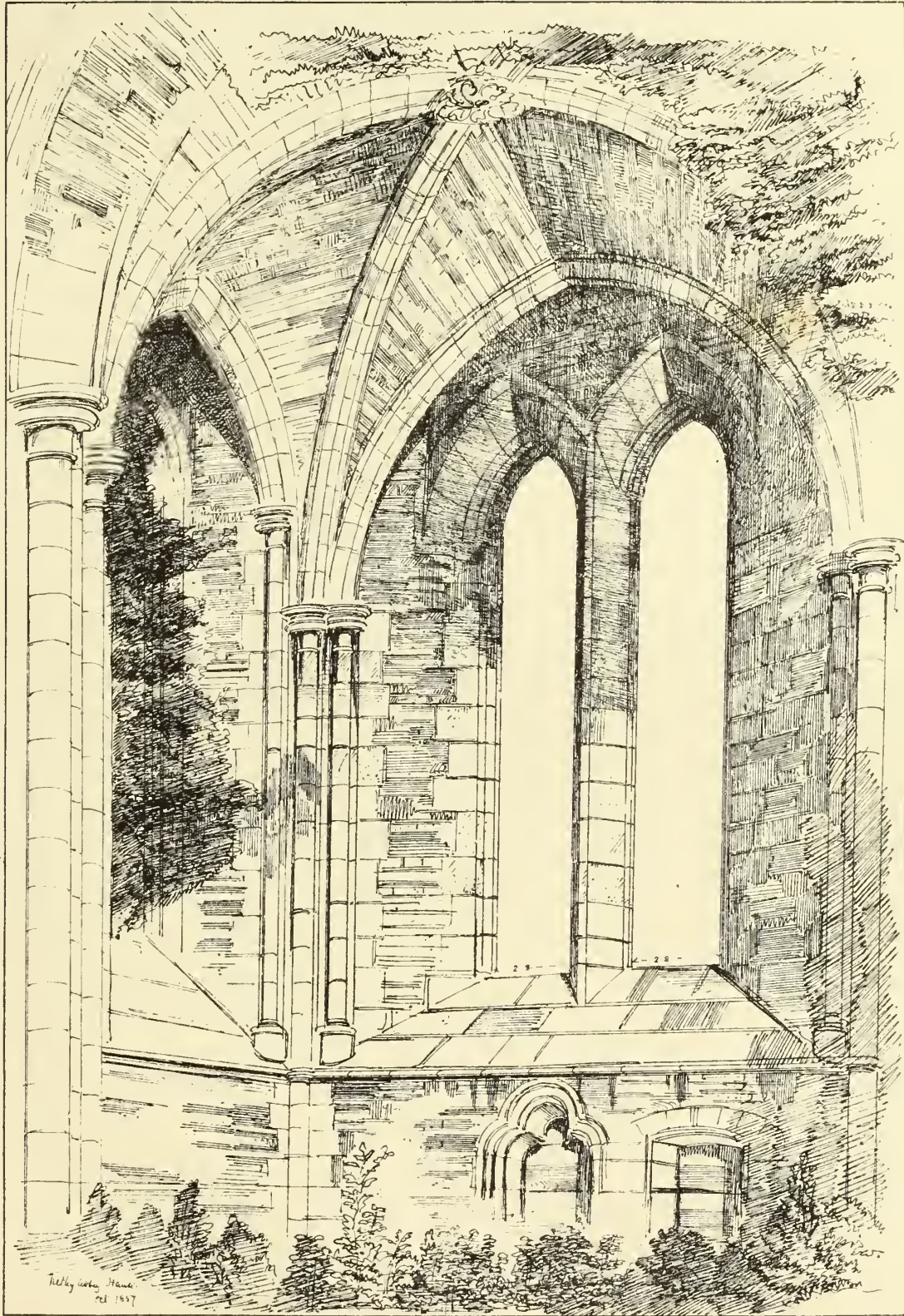
St. Thomas's connection with Canterbury had commenced at a very early period of his career. Upon leaving Merton College, Oxford, he had entered into the service of the primate Theobald (1136-1161). The story of his life and of its tragical termination, so disastrous to the cause which the cowardly murder was designed to subserve, is too well known to need repetition.

There is no recognition of the moral and intellectual power of a great man, so conspicuous and so splendid as the putting of him to death. By this act his enemies proclaim to the world that it is beyond their moral and intellectual power to resist the force of this one man's soul, the power of his highly organised brain, and the scathing logic of his tongue, except by the destruction of the organism itself. Assassination, judicial murder, martyrdom, these are the homage paid by overmastering common-place to transcendent genius of soul or intellect.

By this unerring stamp of moral nobility, the character of St. Thomas was in a peculiar manner distinguished. It was not enough that his life was embittered by exile and cut short by murder. Three-and-a-half centuries after his death he was honoured by the hate of a tyrant, cruel, lustful, and able. The mock trial of the saint by Henry VIII., and his condemnation as a traitor, affords the most grotesque example of impotent malice which history has recorded.

Gervase was a monk of Christchurch at the time, and he has given us a very precise description of the spot which was the scene of this world-renowned tragedy.

^{ll} This small volume—"The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral," is, or ought to be, the text-book of the scientific archæologist. A man who has gone over this church with the professor's work in his hand, has followed step by step its rigorously logical procedure, and has made himself thoroughly master of the problems involved, and of the solutions, not so much discovered by the investigation, as imposed by the facts themselves when observed with cold accuracy, knows, if he be capable of knowing anything, what is scientific method as applied in archæological research. Such a study is as improving to the logical faculty as it is to the antiquarian. It is an honour to belong to a university which, in these days of "dabbling" and inaccuracy, has produced one man whose mind, at once icily logical and ardently practical, could give to an applied science all the precision of a pure.



NETLEY ABBEY-CHURCH.
WINDOW IN THE SOUTH QUIRE-AISLE.

The primate had passed from the palace along the north walk of the cloister, and had entered the church by the door in the west wall of the north transept. His intention was to hear vespers, which the monks were already commencing in the quire. He had ascended a few of the "many steps" in the north quire-aisle, by which the higher level was gained, intending, no doubt, to pass along this aisle and through the northern *ostium presbiterii* to his throne in the quire, when his four murderers forced their way into the church by the same door through which he had himself just passed. Hearing their loud menaces, the primate paused in his ascent, and turning, descended again into the transept and confronted them. Between the north quire-aisle and the apsidal chapel of the transept, dedicated in honour of St. Benedict, there intervened a blank piece of wall (still in existence), and in front of this wall "that glorious companion of martyrs, and guest of the apostles, the holy Thomas, fell in the body by the swords of raging men, but transmitted his unconquered soul to heaven to be straightway crowned with the glory and honour of the eternal kingdom. This place of martyrdom is opposite to the door of the cloister by which those four notaries of the devil entered, that they might stamp the seal of the genuine prerogative of the martyr between the anvil and hammer: that is, that they might adorn the head of St. Thomas, prostrate between the pavement and their swords, with the stamp of the Most High, the chaplet of martyrdom."

Upon this wall there was an image of the Mother of God, and before it, as Erasmus tells us, "the holy man was said to have bade his earthly farewell to the blessed Virgin when at the point of death." The exact spot was marked in the time of Erasmus by "an altar of wood consecrated in honour of the blessed Virgin, small, and only worth seeing as a monument of antiquity."^{mm}

Gervase mentions that the pillar which stood in the midst of this transept, "as well as the vault which rested on it"—the gallery, that is, which contained the upper transeptal chapel—"were, in process of time, taken down out of respect for the martyr, that the altar elevated upon the place of the martyrdom," and dedicated, as we learn from Erasmus, in honour of St. Mary, "might be seen from a greater distance."

The martyrdom occurred upon the 29th of December, 1170. In less than four years, upon the 5th of September, 1174, "by the just but occult judgment of God, the church of Christ at Canterbury was consumed by fire—that glorious quire, to wit, which had been so magnificently completed by the care and industry of prior Conrad."ⁿⁿ

^{mm} "Altare ligneum divæ Virgini sacrum, pusillum, nec ulla re visendum, nisi monumentum vetustatis."—Pereg. Relig. ergo.

ⁿⁿ *Ib.*, p. 32. Gervase goes on to add, "The people were astonished that the Almighty should suffer such things, and maddened with excess of grief and perplexity, they tore their hair and beat the walls and pavement of the church with their

Of the subsequent rebuilding, Gervase has given a minutely detailed account, which will be found in full in professor Willis's work. We are only here concerned with the alterations in plan and arrangement which the new work, happily still in existence, exhibits, and which are so characteristic of the thirteenth century.^{oo}

In the first place, the position of the choir, in the reconstructed eastern limb, was the same as that which it occupied in the work of St. Anselm. One of Archbishop Winchelsey's statutes (issued in 1298) directs that "duo ostia minuta sub majori pulpito inter corpus ecclesiæ et chorum per duo latera, juxta altare sub magna cruce ecclesiæ constituta, clausa remaneant: nisi, ratione divini officii vel ministerii, egressus vel ingressus immineat necessarius, aut tempore peregrinationum solemniorum," on the occurrence, that is, of a great public pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas,^{pp} "de permissione presidentis expressa, hujusmodi ostia quandoque dimittantur aperta."

The same statute contains also a reference to the easternmost screen, from which it appears that its central opening had, up to this date, no door. "Item precepimus et priori injungimus ut statim quam citius fieri poterit opportune, ostium pulchrum et forte ligneum cum forti et decente serura, ad ingressum chori versus occidentem cum serura congrua construatur, ita quod claudi possit: ut clausum ac servatum temporibus opportunis remaneat, ne per chorum liber ingressus pateat cuilibet transeunti, et ut superiori parti ecclesiæ (ubi magnum posset sæpius imminere periculum), major per hoc securitas præparetur."^{qq}

The crypt of Ernulph's quire had, of course, escaped the ravages of the fire, and it remains to this day virtually unaltered, except, of course, by that extension of it eastward, which formed part of the great enlargement of the eastern arm of the church, which was designed and carried into execution by the two Williams.

The first of these two architects, to whom is

heads and hands, blaspheming the Lord and His saints, the patrons of the church; and many, both of laity and monks, would rather have laid down their lives than that the church should have so miserably perished" (*ib.*, p. 34).

^{oo} Before finally taking leave of the "glorious quire of Conrad," it may be interesting to note that in the easternmost chapel of its apse, dedicated in honour of the holy Trinity, "the blessed martyr, Thomas, celebrated his first mass upon the day of his consecration. In this chapel, both before and after his exile, he was wont to celebrate mass, to hear divine service, and frequently to pray" ("Gervase," in Willis's "Canterbury," p. 46). The chapel, once that of St. Thomas, is now known as the Trinity chapel, and there is, in this reversion, an unconscious homage to the saint, whose private and particular devotion is thus preserved.

^{pp} The popularity of the saint, who could say with truth "I will speak of thy testimonies also, even before kings, and will not be ashamed"—a virtue which Englishmen have ever appreciated highly—is evinced to this day by the frequency among us of the christian name of Thomas. Every English Thomas is a namesake of Canterbury's martyr, just as every William Henry commemorates the more short-lived popularity of "our Great Deliverer."

^{qq} Willis's "Canterbury," p. 110.

attributed, with much probability, the introduction into England of the pointed style, was "a certain William of Sens, a man active and ready, and as a workman most skilful in wood and stone."^{rr} This able man was not destined to carry his work on to its completion. "He was, in the beginning of the fifth year (1178), in the act of preparing with machines for the turning of the great vault, when suddenly the beams broke under his feet, and he fell to the ground (stones and timbers accompanying his fall), from the height of the capitals of the upper vault, that is to say, of fifty feet. Thus, sorely bruised by the blows from the beams and stones, he was rendered helpless alike to himself and for the work."^{ss}

The master, for some months "reclining in bed, commanded that all things should be done in order," but about summer-time, "perceiving that he derived no benefit from the physicians, he gave up the work, and crossing the sea, returned to his home in France." The work was ultimately completed under the direction of another architect, "William by name, english by nation, small of body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest."^{tt}

To this english architect we are indebted for the great eastward extension of the presbytery, beyond the limit of Conrad's apse. "He laid the foundation for the enlargement of the church at the eastern part, because a chapel of St. Thomas was to be built there. For this was the place assigned to him, namely, the chapel of the Holy Trinity, where he had celebrated his first mass, wherein he was wont to prostrate himself with tears and prayers, under whose crypt for so many years his body had lain buried, where God for his merits had performed so many wonders, where poor and rich, kings and princes had venerated him, and whence the sound of his praises had gone forth into all lands."^{uu}

In the new arrangement the high altar retained its old position, and in advance of it were re-erected the altars of St. Dunstan and St. Elphege. The quire and the presbytery were enclosed as before by a wall, the lower portion of which is still in existence.

The monks took solemn possession of their new quire upon Easter eve, in the year 1180. "The convent," says Gervase, "was ejected by the fire from the choir, even as Adam from paradise, in the year of the world, 1174, in the month of September, upon the fifth day of the month, and about the ninth hour. They remained in the nave of the church" (the work of Lanfranc, to which the fire had not extended,) "five years, seven months,

and thirteen days. They returned into the new choir in the year of grace 1180, in the month of April, on the nineteenth day of the month, at about the ninth hour of Easter eve."

Upon the completion of this great work, the patriarchal chair was re-erected a trifle to the eastward of its previous position, and upon a similar ascent of steps. These, however, were now carried transversely across the presbytery, whereas formerly the position of the throne, in the extreme point of the sweep of the apse, had necessitated a curved arrangement, such as we may still see evidence of in bishop Losinga's apse at Norwich. Behind the patriarchal seat the presbytery was parted from the chapel of St. Thomas by a screen, which Gostling describes as "a fence of ironwork finished at the top with a rail or cornice of wood."^{vv}

The stalls of the monks were arranged in two rows on each side, and at the eastern end of the southern row was the archbishop's wooden throne, which he occupied, when assisting at a function in which he did not pontificate. Somner, writing in 1640, describes this as "sometime richly gilt and otherwise well set forth, but now nothing specious through age and late neglect. It is a close seat, made after the old fashion of such stalls, called then *faldistoria*; only in this they differ, that they are movable, this is fixt."^{ww}

The new quire differed in two respects from that of the priors Conrad and Ernulf.

In the first place, the earlier building had a flat, painted ceiling of wood, while the new work was groined in stone.

In the second place, the eastern transept, which in Anslem's quire was masked by the continuation across it of two bays of the general design, with pier-arches, triforium, and clerestory complete, is in the late work treated as a proper transept, with its own proper crossing-bay. We can thus see precisely the period at which this secondary crossing, peculiar to England, received its full recognition, as the ritual representative of the transept of the greater primitive basilicæ.

^{rr} *Ib.*, p. 102.

^{ss} *Ib.*, p. 106. The primates of Canterbury were, and are still, I believe, thrice enthroned, viz., "in primo stallo chori ex parte australi," as head of the convent; "super sedem suam ligneam in choro," as bishop of the diocese; and lastly in the patriarchal seat, as primate. These quotations are from the form of inthronization of archbishop Winchelsea (A.D. 1294), of which Willis gives (p. 106) the following abridgment:—"The archbishop and the prior, together with the convent, solemnly convey the *pallium* to the high altar and deposit it thereon. The convent take their place in the quire, and the archbishop first remains prostrate in prayer before the high altar, and then proceeds to his wooden throne in the quire. After certain other ceremonies, the archbishop (wearing the *pallium*), the prior, and six other ecclesiastics, take their station behind the high altar, beneath the *feretrum* of St. Blaise and in front of the marble throne, with their faces toward the east. The king in the meantime takes his station, together with many of his nobles, near the said chair. Then the prior, leading the archbishop to the chair, intrones him therein, and then eight monks, standing beneath the shrine of St. Blaise, sing the 'Benedictus, dominus Deus Israel' before the primate seated upon his throne. Lastly the archbishop descends from his seat and comes before the high altar."

^{tt} *Ib.*, p. 35. ^{ss} *Ib.*, p. 50. ^{tt} *Ib.*, p. 51.

^{uu} When the ruins of the chapel of the Holy Trinity were removed, by William the englishman, in order to make way for the great eastward extension of the church, its altar was taken down, and from its materials was constructed the altar of St. John the apostle, in the northern-most apse of the south-eastern transept. "I mention this," says Gervase, "lest the history of that holy stone, upon which St. Thomas celebrated his first mass, and many times after performed the divine offices, should be lost." (*Ib.*, p. 56.)



NETLEY ABBEY.

WINDOW IN THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

The eastern transept of Conrad (circ. 1100) is the earliest instance on record of the introduction of this very significant concession to the requirements of ritual tradition, and it here appears with a certain modesty, being ignored in the design of the central area. In the work of William of Sens (circ. 1180) it is frankly recognised as an essential feature of the construction of their quire, just as we see it, in later times, at Lincoln, at Beverley, at Salisbury, and at York.

Of the conspicuous enlargement of the church eastward of the presbytery, which was carried out under the direction of the English William, it is only necessary to state that it consisted of an addition of four straight bays, terminating in a five-bayed apse, with the aisle continued round it for a procession path. It had only one chapel, a circular one, which Gervase describes as a "round tower,"^{xx} at the eastern extremity of the whole building. This great work was finally brought to completion in the year 1184.

The whole of this addition was dedicated in honour of St. Thomas. In the eastern chapel, or *corona*, there was an image of the saint, gilt, and decorated with precious gems, and in the centre of the new work stood his shrine. The feretory upon which this rested was of stone for about six feet in height, above which was a structure of timber. Within this, enclosed in a chest of iron, lay the body of the martyr. The woodwork of the shrine was covered by plates of gold, enriched with filigree-work and enamels, and garnished with images, precious stones, and pearls.^{yy}

From the "*Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*" of Erasmus, who visited the church in 1524, we learn that the shrine, like that of St. Cuthbert, already described, had a wooden cover, suspended by ropes from the vaulting above, so that it might be raised, without any difficulty, when the shrine was to be exposed.

At the west end of the feretory was an altar, and the whole was enclosed by a screen of ironwork, in which were formed two doorways, one toward the west, the other in the north side.^{zz}

I have thus reviewed the history, from the earliest ages of british christianity down to the thirteenth century, of our great metropolitan church. I have

^{xx} Willis's "*Canterbury*," p. 61.

^{yy} Compare with this the description given by Lenoir (ii., 261) of the shrine of St. Denis, erected by the abbat Suger. The spoils of the shrine of St. Thomas filled two great chests, all of which were taken for the king's use in 1538. Wilkins ("*Concilia*," iii., p. 836) has printed Henry's order for the sacrilege, dated June 11, 1538: "*Mandamus ejus ossa ex sepulchro erui et publice comburi*," etc. This was carried into effect on the 19th of August following. (Willis's "*Canterbury*," p. 100.)

^{zz} The statutes of archbishop Winchelsey mention, "*Ostia ferrea aute altare ad caput feretri sci Thomæ, videlicet, tam ex altaris opposito quam etiam a latere boreali*." At the west end of this enclosure stood one bay (about twenty feet) to the eastward of the iron screen, in rear of the patriarchal seat. The arrangements of such shrines are best studied now at Westminster Abbey, where, upon the feretrum of St. Edward, still rests the body of that canonised king. Here, too, as at Canterbury, there remains about the shrine the original pavement of marble mosaic.

shown what was, in all probability, the distribution of the basilica erected by the labour of the christianised roman settlers, and what enlargement and modification it received when it was restored from its ruins by St. Augustine. I have exhibited the plan of the new church erected by Lanfranc immediately after the Conquest, the extension of this building eastward during the primacy of St. Anselm some twenty years later, and the further expansion of the eastern limb, for which the fire of 1174 gave an opportunity.

It is impossible to exhibit, in a more graphic manner, the progress of ecclesiology in our land during the centuries which elapsed between the establishment of the peace of the Church and the complete developement, in the thirteenth century, of the pointed style of architecture.

The characteristics of what is known as the early english style, at which we are now arrived, are, in addition to the new form of arch, a fully developed system of rib-groining: the subdivision of the piers into elegant shafts, each carrying its own order in the arch or vaulting above, often detached from the pier itself and frequently of marble: and lastly, the circular plan of the capital, either enriched with peculiarly elegant foliage of a very original type, or simply moulded.

These conditions remained unchanged from the complete formation of the style, about the year 1200, until the close of the century. But a new element was now to appear, the progress of which was for a long period to determine the future history of the style, as that of groining had decided its past.

We have seen that in saxon times the windows were for the most part unglazed, protected often with carved lattices of wood. Under the Normans, the use of glass became more common, but its costliness led the builders to content themselves with very narrow openings, widely splayed internally, so as to obtain the most advantage from the scanty light which they admitted.

In the twelfth century the use of glass became general, and it is, no doubt, to that intercourse with the east which the crusades brought about, that we owe the introduction into Europe of ornamented and coloured glazing.

The supposition that it is to the east that we are indebted for the invention of stained glass is confirmed by the character of the painted glass of the norman period.

The Mohammedans, observing with strict exactness the second commandment of the jewish law, allow of no representation of forms, animal or vegetable. Their ornamental glass-work was therefore confined to mere geometrical arrangements of colour, and to a severely mosaic treatment. They had to rely solely upon an effect of colour, without any grace of drawing, or any suggestion of solid relief: while the circumstance of their brilliant climate rendered depth and richness, more important than delicacy, of colouring. Now the stained

glass of the norman period has exactly these characteristics.

The Gospel, unlike the Koran, lays no restriction upon the imitation in art, of animal or vegetable shapes, and the Normans were quite accustomed, in wall-painting and in sculpture, to the representation even of life-size figures. Yet in their stained glass, the figure-work is usually quite subordinate to the merely decorative details. The treatment is thoroughly decorative, and so unimportant are the groups and figures, that in many cases they might have been omitted altogether, without altering the general effect of the window as a piece of coloured ornamentation.

The art did not, however, long remain in the simple form, which it owed to its oriental parentage. The northern artists soon saw that it was capable of much higher effects.

The glass in the eastern portion of Canterbury cathedral exhibits the early mosaic treatment. The colouring is deep and rich, white glass being used only in the smallest proportions, and the figures are upon a very small scale, and are quite subordinate—especially at a distance—to the coloured ornament.

The glass in the south transept window, only a very little later in date, exhibits a great advance. Although the system of colour is much the same, the figures are upon a large scale, and form the prominent feature of the design.

In France—at Chartres and elsewhere—the two systems are seen in a similar conjunction.

The development of the art thus commenced, demanded in the first instance wider window openings, and soon led to still further changes.

The lancet-window of the early-english style is simply the norman window, heightened in proportion, and somewhat widened, with a pointed head in place of a semi-circular, with shafts of slenderer diameter, and with capitals circular instead of square. These lancets became, as the style advanced, steadily larger and larger, in order to afford more space for stained glass, till in the west end of Chartres cathedral we find one, actually thirteen feet in the clear.

It was now felt that no further enlargement was possible, without a sacrifice of proportion, detrimental to the apparent scale of the building itself, and the expedient of grouping two or more lancets together was adopted to meet the growing demands of the art of stained glass.

From this simple beginning, took its origin the most characteristic feature of gothic architecture—window tracery.

In the west ends of Kirkstall and Byland, and in the east end of Rievaulx abbey, we see the first steps, by which from the simple lancet was evolved the traceried window of the middle pointed style.

In the two former we find two lancets with a rose window above, arranged under one comprising arch. In the latter example we see three lancets similarly grouped, the centre window rising higher than the lateral ones.

The notion thus reached was soon expanded: the next step being to pierce with smaller circles, trefoils, or quatrefoils, the spaces of masonry left between the lancets and the arch which enclosed them. A new idea was thus arrived at, the capabilities of which were soon appreciated.

A reference to a few very simple but characteristic specimens, of which I give illustrations,^{aaa} will serve to exemplify the history.

In the first, from one of the eastern chapels of Netley abbey (erected about 1240), we see a grouping of two lancets, which has the faintest possible suggestion of the mullion form, into which the intermediate pier was destined soon to dwindle. In the next, from the chapter-house of the same abbey, we find the shield of stone above the coupled-lancets pierced by a sex-foil. The third, from the clerestory of Tintern abbey, shows the fully-developed bar-tracery.

The two following views illustrate the same progress in the case of a triple group of lights. In the example from the west end of Tintern abbey, the spandrels are sunk but not perforated; in the other (again from Netley abbey—a window of the nave-aisle), they are pierced by trefoil openings.

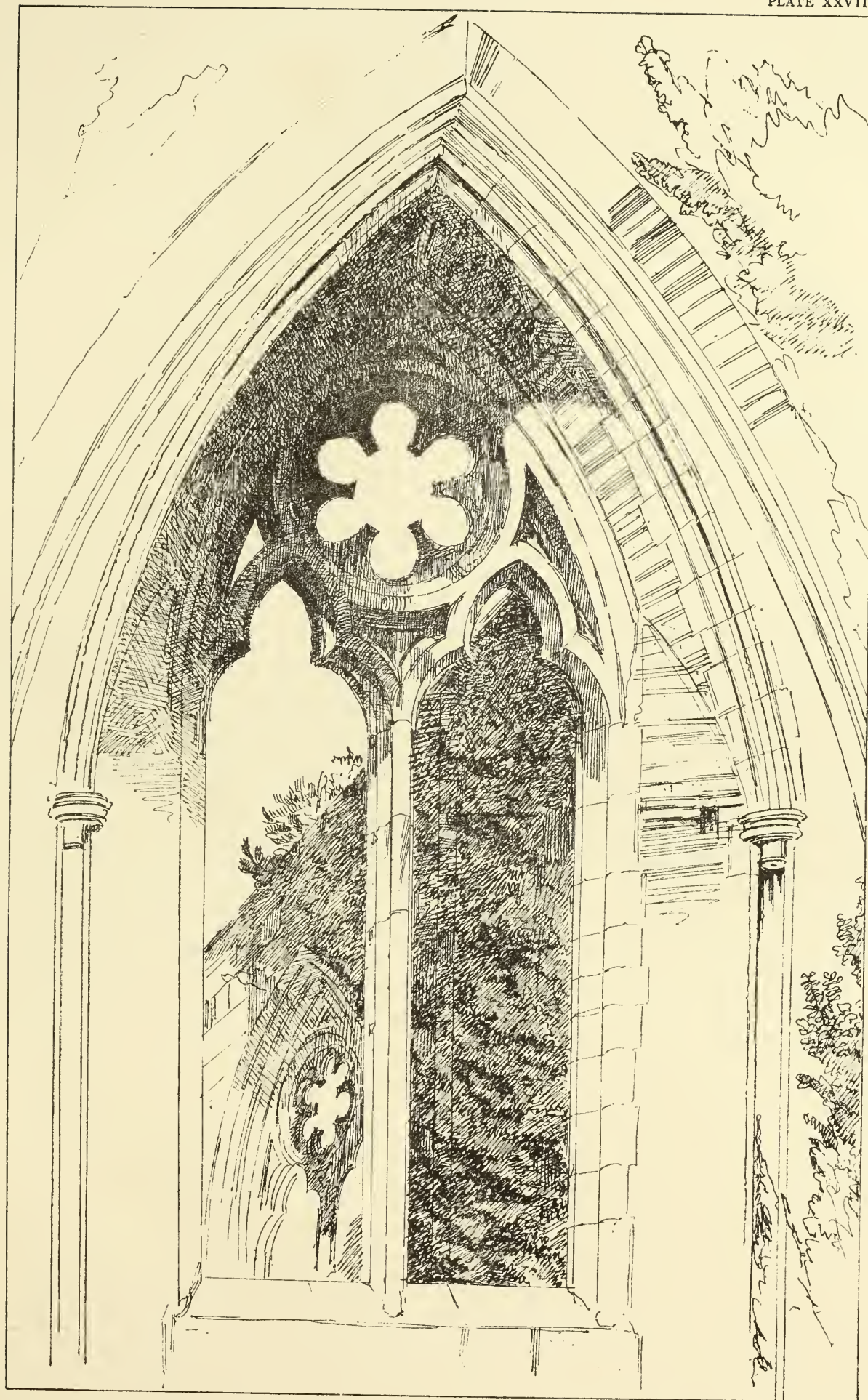
As the style advanced, gradually the lancet arches become more subordinate, and the comprising arch grows in importance. The piercings of the stone shield, thus formed, become larger and larger, while the piers between the lancets grow thinner and thinner. Thus by a steady but very gradual process, the lancets have become mere window-lights, the piers which separated them have diminished to mullions, and the ornamental piercings, at first small and star-like, have become the most important feature of the design. The result is seen in what is termed the plate-traceried window.

The next step in the progress is one which appears small, but which led to wonderful changes in the sequel.

The irregular spaces of masonry left between the heads of the lights, and the various geometrical openings above them were now cut away. This may seem merely to have contributed to the lightness of the effect, by diminishing the proportion of the solid stonework to the glazed openings, but it did more than this. It converted, what had been mere piercings in a stone shield, into *bars of stone surrounding piercings*.

Those who dislike the later developments of the style, are accustomed to view the change, from geometrical tracery to flowing, as the first stage of an assumed deterioration. By this change, as they say,

^{aaa} These are fac-similes of sketches made by a friend—I have already referred to him—whose loss, after more than twenty years, is felt as a recent sorrow. “I do not wonder at what men suffer, but I wonder often at what they lose. We may see how good rises out of pain and evil; but the dead, naked, eyeless loss, what good comes of that? The fruit struck to the earth before its ripeness; the glowing life and goodly purpose dissolved away in sudden death.” (Ruskin’s “Stones of Venice,” ii., p. 149.) “*Quod Ego facio, tu nescis modo, scies autem postea.*”



TINTERN ABBEY-CHURCH.
WINDOW OF THE CLERESTORY.

the form of the opening, on which alone a rational decoration of the window should be based, became subordinate to the lines which the stone tracery-bars describe, a merely accidental element.

But to be consistent, such purists should draw the line at an earlier stage of the evolution. The admission of—what they consider—a false principle was made, not when geometrical forms gave place to flowing, but when, about the middle of the thirteenth century, the notion first occurred of piercing the eyes of the plate tracery. It was then, that pierced openings gave place to circles and quatrefoils of stone. The line of the tracery-bar, then for the first time became of interest; and flowing-tracery became inevitable as soon as plate-tracery had become converted, by this simple innovation, into bar-tracery.

Those who would consistently maintain Mr. Ruskin's views on this matter, must condemn the geometrical traceries of St. Mary's, at York, or of Westminster Abbey, scarcely less than the flowing windows of York and Carlisle cathedrals, or the flamboyant, of France.

One circumstance which contributed to the extraordinary expansion of window-tracery is to be found in the conditions of groined vaulting.

In a barrel vault, the thrust is distributed evenly along the whole of the bearing walls. In a groined vault, on the contrary, it is concentrated upon certain points, those from which the vault-ribs spring and to which they converge. It was found necessary, therefore, to enforce these points by buttresses of considerable strength and projection.

As soon as this system had been matured it was seen that the vaulting-piers and buttresses, in reality, carried all the weight of the stone roof, and that the wall between them was needed, only for enclosure, and not for strength.

It would be possible, indeed, to erect a great gothic church, such as Westminster, without any walls at all, the whole being open on every side; and the groined roof would then appear, sailing in air, supported only upon its piers and buttresses.

The realization of this principle coincided with the great advances made in the art of stained glass. The painted-glass artists demanded an ample field for the display of their work, and it was, at the same time, seen that the whole of the wall, comprised below the wall-ribs, could be pierced for windows, without at all interfering with the construction.

In this manner the windows came to occupy the entire space below the wall-ribs, and solid walls, pierced by a single lancet, gave place to a mere curtain, containing only so much stonework as was required to support the glazing.

The window had now become the ruling feature of the architecture, and from the close of the thirteenth century until the fifteenth, its treatment and expansion constitute, in the main, the history of the gothic style.

The piercing of the eyes of the plate-tracery had, as is now seen, introduced a new idea.

From looking, as hitherto had been done, simply at the window openings and piercings, the architects

had come to regard, rather, the lines of the circumscribing stone-work. And the arrangement of these lines began now to usurp the place hitherto occupied by the consideration of the forms of the glazed spaces.

It is impossible not to see, in this significant change of view, an indication of that great artistic revolution of which it was but one of the modes.

In the history of vaulting, which I have already reviewed, we have seen, at an earlier date, a similar change of the point of view. In the treatment of vaulting by the architects of the early romanesque, as in that which prevailed in the classical roman style, the view is directed entirely to the surfaces of the vault. The groin was regarded simply as the intersection of two semi-cylindrical surfaces. The line of intersection, which is an ellipse, was not regarded; and in the roman vaults, the welch groin is common, in which the line of intersection does not even lie in a plane. As soon, however, as the notion occurred of accentuating the cutting-lines by ribs, at once the whole view-point changes. The surfaces cease to be regarded; it is the lines of intersection which are now all-important. The surfaces soon became twisted with an utter disregard of that breadth and symmetry so characteristic of the classic style, and the elliptical cutting lines, which the Romans did not feel to be ungraceful because they never thought of them as lines at all, were modified into ribs which form proper segments of circular curves. Thus the line became all-important, and the surface-forms fell into a quite subordinate place.

An analogous change had now come over the other great element of northern architecture, the window: and the same transference of interest, from the surfaces and the masses, to the lines of the architecture, may be traced through every detail of the future progress of the style for nearly two centuries.

Of the perfected style which was the immediate result of this change of view,—that which is known as the early, or geometrical decorated, or first-pointed style,—I will notice but three examples, and these but briefly, as they are all too well known to need any detailed description. These are, the entire church of Salisbury, erected between the years 1220 and 1258; the earlier portions of Westminster Abbey, executed, as far as the western wall of the transept, between 1245 and 1269, together with the four next bays of the nave completed by Edward I.; and the presbytery of St. Alban's Abbey, executed under the abbats, John of Hertford, Roger of Norton, and John of Berkhamstead, who ruled in succession from 1235 to 1301.

The see of Wilton had been transferred by bishop Herman, nine years after the Conquest, to what is now known as Old Sarum. "The choice of this town," says Mr. Freeman,^{bbb} "as the seat of the bishoprick of Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, shows that it must already have been a place of importance according to the standard of the time. Yet

^{bbb} "History of the Norman Conquest," i., p. 349.

one would think that its importance must always have been mainly that of a military post : one can hardly conceive Old Sarum being at any time a place of trade, or the centre of any considerable population."

A cathedral church was commenced here by Herman, and completed by his successor, St. Osmund, in the north-western part of the town, with a cloister situate to the north of its nave.^{ccc}

The inconvenience of the site began at once to be felt, and little more than a century had elapsed before a gradual migration of the inhabitants, from the water-less hill to the well-watered vale below, had commenced.

Herbert Poore was the last bishop of Old Sarum. He died in 1217, and was succeeded by his brother, Richard Poore (translated from Chichester to Salisbury), who removed the episcopal see into the present city. Of this translation his friend, William de Wanda, has left an account, the original of which is in the muniment-room of the church. From it we learn that upon Easter Monday, in the year 1219, a wooden chapel, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, was begun to be erected at New Sarum, in which, upon the feast of the blessed Trinity following, bishop Poore celebrated the divine service, and consecrated the cemetery adjoining to it. In the following year, upon the festival of St. Vitalis (April 28), the foundations of the new church were commenced. The bishop laid the first stone for the pope (Honorius III.), the second for the primate of Canterbury (Stephen Langton), and the third for himself. William Longespée, earl of Salisbury, laid the fourth stone, and Ela, his countess, the fifth. Other stones were laid by the nobility then present, by the dean, and the dignitaries of the church, both laymen and clerics binding themselves to certain payments for seven years.

In the course of five years the work was so far advanced that upon the vigil of Michaelmas, 1225, the bishop consecrated three of its altars, one in the eastern part of the church, dedicated in honour of the blessed Trinity and of all saints ; another to the north, in honour of St. Peter ; and a third to the south, in honour of St. Stephen and all martyrs.

This must have been but a small portion of the whole,^{ddd} as thirty-three years passed away before

the completion of the work. At length, upon the day following the feast of Michaelmas, in 1258, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, presided at the solemn dedication of the stately pile, in the presence of king Henry III. and his queen, and a great gathering of prelates and nobles. The prelate who had the happiness to bring to a termination this great work was bishop Giles of Bridport. He died in 1262, and was interred in the south-eastern transept, upon the north side of the chantry chapel, which he had founded, under a tomb of remarkable beauty.^{eee}

The cathedral church, thus completed in thirty-eight years, did not possess, what is now the most striking feature of its exterior, the truly elegant steeple which rises from the centre of the great crossing. As originally designed and finished, there rose at this point a lantern-tower of very low proportion, elevated but little above the ridges of the abutting roofs, and topped, no doubt, by a pyramidal leaded covering. The exterior of the church, as it now stands, is, with all its merits, somewhat cold, and—so to speak—pedantic ; an effect due to the wearisome repetition of one design—not itself very interesting—throughout the bays of the lady-chapel, quire, transepts, and nave, both in the aisle-range and in the clerestory ; and when one pictures it, as it left the hand of its original designer, and without that glorious tower and spire, by which a later architect has redeemed all the shortcomings of his predecessor, one must confess that its exterior must have been, as a whole, dull.

Not so, however, the interior, the proportions of which are, to my mind, remarkably satisfactory. It is difficult, however, to realise even to imagination, the effect which its architect designed to produce, in consequence of the destruction of the stained glass of its windows, and the obliteration of the coloured decoration of its walls.

Purbeck marble is used with profusion throughout, and as we now see the church, contrasts in a striking and crude manner with the white stonework about it, but such an effect is totally opposed to the scheme of the man who conceived this great work.

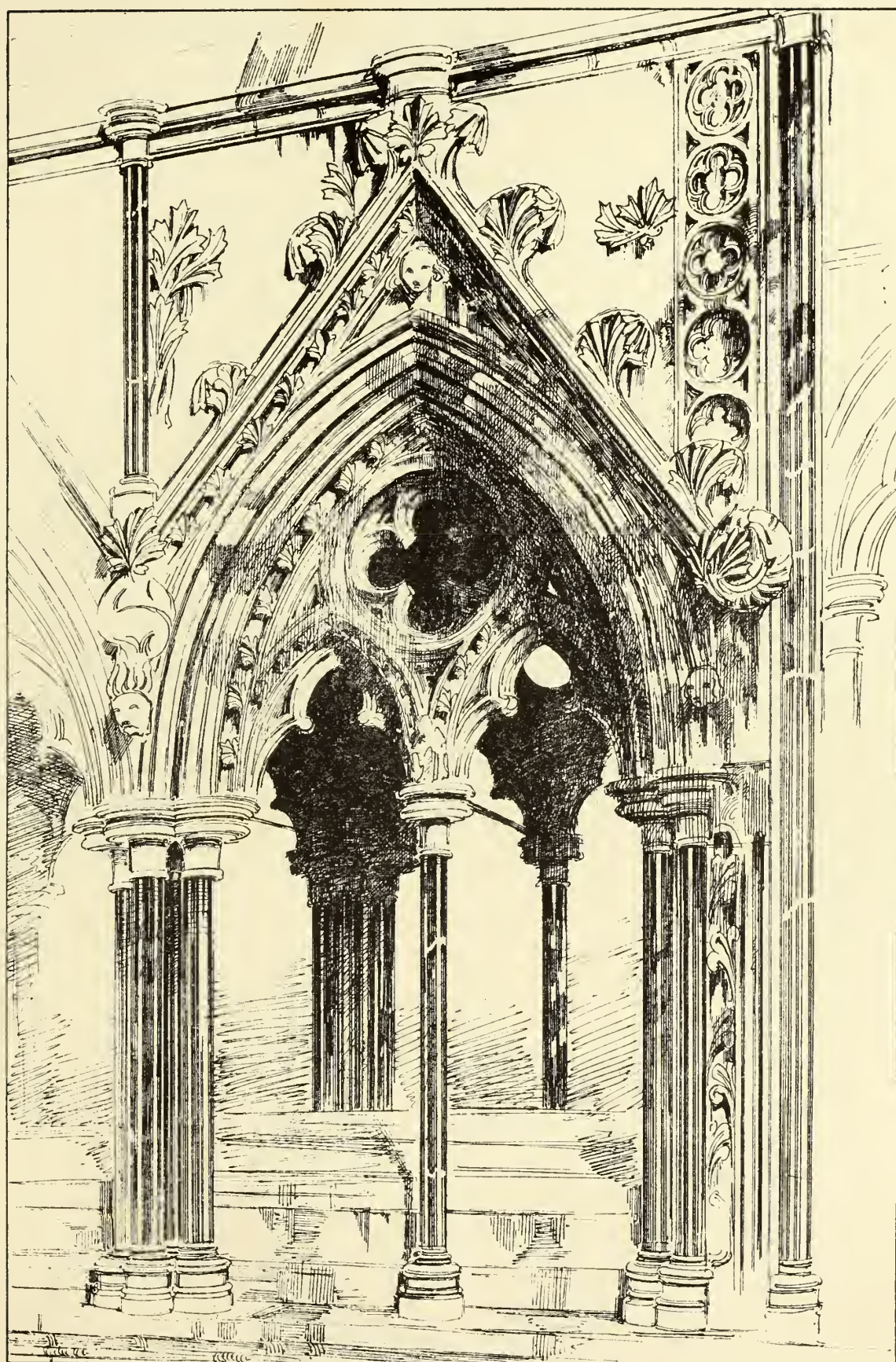
The ruling intention appears to have been to have light-coloured window-glass, and richly coloured wall-spaces. The stained glass, of which

^{ccc} In 1331, Edward III., by a grant dated at Sherborne, permitted the chapter to pull down this church, together with the episcopal and canonical residences adjoining to it, and to remove the materials to the new city, "for the improvement of the church of New Sarum, and of the enclosure of the close thereunto belonging." (Cf. Dugdale, "Monast.," vi., p. 1296.) Considerable fragments of the norman buildings may, to this day, be seen built up in the embattled walls which surround the close.

^{ddd} I suspect that it included little more than what is now called the lady-chapel. This contained three altars, one at its eastern extremity, and one in each of its lateral chapels. If, as I am inclined to believe, these three were the three consecrated in 1225, it will follow that, as was the case originally at Canterbury, the eastern chapel was dedicated in

honour, not of our Lady, but of the blessed Trinity. In the list of the "ornamenta tradita ab A. Thesaurario ad deserv : diversis altaribus in ecclesia Sarum," given in Dr. Rock's "Church of Our Fathers," iv., app., pp. 107, 108, the first three altars are given as *altare St. Petri*, *altare Omnium Sanctorum*, and *altare Sti Stephani*. There is no mention in the "De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Tractatus" of an altar of the B. V. M. as distinct from the high altar, which was, of course, under her invocation.

^{eee} Of this truly admirable work I give an illustration, again from a sketch by Edward O'Brien. It is clearly the work of a more imaginative artist than he who designed the church itself. It is not only interesting historically, and for its beauty, but may serve also as an early specimen of the fully-developed bar-tracery which succeeded to those modifications of the grouped-lancet idea, of which I have already given examples.



SALISBURY CATHEDRAL-CHURCH.

TOMB OF BISHOP GILES OF BRIDPORT.

a few fragments have escaped the vandalism of the puritans, and the stupidity of the chapter, was remarkable, both by the absence of figure-work, and the unusual predominance of white glass. The walls, on the contrary, were painted a full red, relieved by bold scroll-work in black, and the mouldings were decorated upon the same system.

Thus the marble-work, instead of showing, as it now does, almost black upon white, was designed to be in perfect tone, as regards chiaro-oscuro, with the red and the black of the wall-spaces. The only parts in which white was employed as a ground were the vaultings, the ribs of which were decorated in full colour, while the inter-spaces were occupied by medallions, in which red is again the predominating tint.^{fff}

Of the general plan of this, the typical english church of the thirteenth century,^{ggg} planned *de novo* for the due carrying out of the most famous of our medieval rituals, a few words must be said.

In the first place, the eastern end is rectangular, and the fact of this being so, in the case of a church where no, more ancient, apsidal quire had been in existence to suggest (as at Canterbury and at Westminster) the semicircular chevet, enables us to note with accuracy the period of the triumph of our native traditions, over the fashion introduced by the gallicised Normans.

The procession-path is continued behind the row of three arches, by which the presbytery is terminated, and beyond it extends three rectangular chapels, the lateral ones being of one bay only, the central one of three bays in length. The disposition is thus not very dissimilar to that of the eastern portion of St. Alban's Abbey, commenced about the same time, and completed, as we shall see presently, rather more than half a century later. At Salisbury, however, the principal chapel is divided into three transverse divisions, by slender marble columns.

In the presbytery, about half a bay to the west of its termination, stood the high altar.^{hhh} The

limit of the presbytery proper is marked by that, peculiarly english feature, the lesser transept. Across the eastern arch of the crossing-bay ran the *gradus presbiterii*, and across its western arch the *gradus chori*. Between the two, the enclosing walls, under the side-arches of the crossing, were pierced by the *ostia presbiterii*. This intermediate space is well described by Leland as "a light and division betwixt the quier and the presbytery."

At the line of the *gradus presbiterii* was drawn the lanten veil, the winch for the raising and lowering of which still exists, refixed in the fourteenth-century casing of the south-eastern pier.

The quire of the canons extended from the lesser to the greater transept, a length of three bays. It was furnished with three rows of seats. In the lowest, in *prima forma*, were placed the boys of the foundation, *canonici pueri*—who, as a sort of corporate body of mass-servers, probably wore, as is the case in France to this day, albsⁱⁱⁱ—and also other boys, not of the foundation, who wore surplices. In the next range, in *secunda forma*, stood the minor canons, deacons, subdeacons, and clerics of the minor orders. In the highest row, in *superiori gradu*, were the dignitaries, canons, priest-vicars, and a few of the deacons—*pauci admodum diaconi qui etate et moribus exigentibus in superiori gradu tolerantur ex dispensatione*.

Of the dignitaries, the dean and the cantor occupied the first stalls, to right and left respectively of the western entrance of the quire: the chancellor and treasurer occupied the easternmost stalls of each row. The stalls next to those of the four great dignitaries were assigned to the four archdeacons of the diocese.

The whole of the quire and presbytery was enclosed by a solid wall some ten feet in height, which was standing in 1778.^{jii} The sedilia occupied the easternmost bay of this wall, upon the south side, and in the opposite bay, to the north, the enclosure was interrupted by the tomb of bishop Richard Poore, whose body thus occupies the normal position of interment assigned to the founder of the church. The western limit of the quire was shut in by the rood-screen, *pulpitum*, a solid erection of stone, surmounted by a loft, from which the gospel was sung at the high mass on festival days. Upon a beam above this stood the great crucifix, or rood, the most striking feature of the

^{fff} The painted decoration recently introduced upon the walls of the quire bears no resemblance in its scheme of colour, to the ancient work, of which the remains, almost complete, were discovered in the course of the recent restoration. These I had the opportunity of investigating in company with my father, who was anxious, as always, to restore with strict faithfulness the ancient work, but who had to yield in this matter (as was too often the case) to an outcry raised by amateurs of "a little knowledge." The effect of the bold broad treatment of the ancient colouring, particularly in its relation to the abundant use of Purbeck marble, must have been, as was evident from the considerable remains of it then exposed to view, astonishingly fine.

^{ggg} Since it was erected upon a new site, no remains of an earlier church imposed, as was almost always the case elsewhere, restriction either upon the fancy of the architect or upon the requirements of the ritual. The *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Tractatus* is, as far as can be judged from the MS., of the same date as the new cathedral, and I am myself convinced, from the great accordance (which I have tested upon the spot) of its directions with the distribution of the existing building, that it was written out for the use of the chapter, upon their taking possession of their new cathedral church.

^{hhh} For the proof of this, its ancient position, I may refer the curious reader to a paper by my father, "On the Posi-

tion of the High Altar in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury," to which I contributed a chapter upon the evidence to be derived from the ritual of Sarum.

ⁱⁱⁱ From the presence in quire of these altar-boys when not actually on duty in the sanctuary is derived the name of the latest added of the four voice-parts of a musical score. In the plain song, when harmonised, the air (tenor) is allotted to the middle part, with one upper part (alto) above it, and one lower part (basso) below it. The *treble* part was subsequently added upon the top of the *alto*, in order to make use of these *thuribularii*, or altar-boys.

^{jii} As is clear from the indication afforded by Hungerford chantry, now known as "the Radnor Pew." This enclosure was removed by that first perpetrator of a "restoration," Wyatt, in 1789.

whole interior, as was the case in every church, collegiate or parochial, throughout the realm.^{kkk}

To the south of the nave was erected the cloister, a work of great beauty, but of some unreality in a secular church. The adoption here (as at St. Paul's, London, and at Lincoln) of this feature, essential to a monastic establishment, in a church which was not monastic, but, in the words of a medieval historian, a mere "sty for secular canons,"^{lll} has a strange air of affectation.

Upon the very slight walls of the original central lantern was shortly afterwards erected, with consummate audacity, the lofty steeple which is the great glory of this church. The exact date of this fine work is not given, but that it took place during the reign of Edward II. is clear from the profuse use made by its designer of the so-called "ball-flower,"^{mmm} a feature peculiar, as far as I have observed, to that miserable period of our history.

The next example of this early decorated, or early middle-pointed style, to which I have referred, is the eastern portion of Westminster Abbey. Upon this famous building I shall make but few remarks. Few buildings are so well known as this, and its merit speaks for itself. I never return to it after a visit to some of the wonderful churches of continental Christendom, without a sense that, though there may be larger buildings elsewhere, there is none more beautiful.

It is clearly the work of an English architect, but of one who was well acquainted with the great buildings then in progress in the north of France—at Rheims, at Amiens, and at Beauvais.

In its general distribution it follows the normal and primitive plan—deriving from the early basilicas—in having its quire wholly in the nave, to the west of the great crossing-bay. Its eastern limb constitutes the presbytery, and the chapel of St. Edward, where the bones of the patron-saint still rest upon their marble bier.

The stalls were canopied, as usual, and "on the north side," says Dart,ⁿⁿⁿ "over the middle of the stalls is a stately organ, gilt; and on the south side, at the upper end of the dean's (once the abbat's)

^{kkk} With much significance the image of the divine but suffering Head of the church, gave place, at the Reformation, to the coat-armour of its new political head, "Ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani—supremum caput." (Cf. Wilkins' "Concilia," iii., p. 742.)

^{lll} What would the good monk, who thus contemns cathedral dignitaries, who were at least celibates, have thought of a bishop of Salisbury (Dr. John Thomas, who died in 1766) who, upon the occasion of his fourth marriage, inscribed this "posy" upon the wedding ring—

"If I survive, I'll make them five"?
—Cassan's "Lives," ii., p. 315.

^{mmm} This ornament is not in reality a flower at all, but simply a common horse-bell, such as may still be seen hanging from the necks of country teams. The leather thong which connects these little bells, is commonly indicated, clearly enough, in their sculptured representations. They have, no doubt, an heraldic significance, and I think it possible that they may have been the badge of those who, in the dissensions of this reign, adhered to the party of the queen.

ⁿⁿⁿ "Westmonasterium," i., p. 62.

row, is the pulpit, by which is remaining an ancient painting of that unhappy, beautiful prince, Richard II.^{ooo}

The area below the crossing-bay, which Dart terms, "the second pavement," was elevated, by an ascent of three steps (forming the *gradus chori*, so frequently referred to in the "Liber Consuetudinarius"), above that of the quire, to the west of it. Here, as Dart informs us, was placed the paschal candlestick, and here, too, stood the matutinal altar.^{ppp}

A second ascent of two steps led to the presbytery-level, to the beautiful mosaic flooring of which I have already had occasion to refer.

Here, two bays to the east of the crossing, stood the high altar. This was not, as we now see it, backed by a solid screen, but stood free in the centre of the eastern limb, as was the case everywhere, from the earliest ages until the commencement of the fifteenth century. The reredos, now so much in vogue, is of very late origin, and is wholly opposed to the primitive conception of the Christian altar.^{qqq}

On the epistle side of the altar are sedilia of four bays, and there is no piscina. Above the altar, at the level of the capitals of the piers, was a rood-beam, upon which stood a great cross, the arms of which were supported by a second beam, which stretched itself across the church at the level of a few feet below the lower string course of the triforium. On either side of the image of the Crucified were placed the figures of St. Mary and John, together with two great cherubs, poised each upon his wheel.^{rrr}

Upon a further ascent, and immediately in rear of the altar, stood "a certain chair, of gilded wood, *quædam cathedra lignea deaurata*," as it is described in the inventory of the last year of Edward I. This seat thus occupied the position of the episcopal throne of an early basilica, and it served, as Walsingham informs us, as "*celebrantium cathedra sacerdotum*."

It possesses, however, a still higher and unique interest, as the coronation-chair of the sovereigns of England since the time of the great *Malleus Scotorum*, who caused it to be made, "*ut reges Angliæ et Scotiæ infra sederent die coronationis eorundem*."^{sss}

Beneath its seat is fixed the "fatal stone," upon

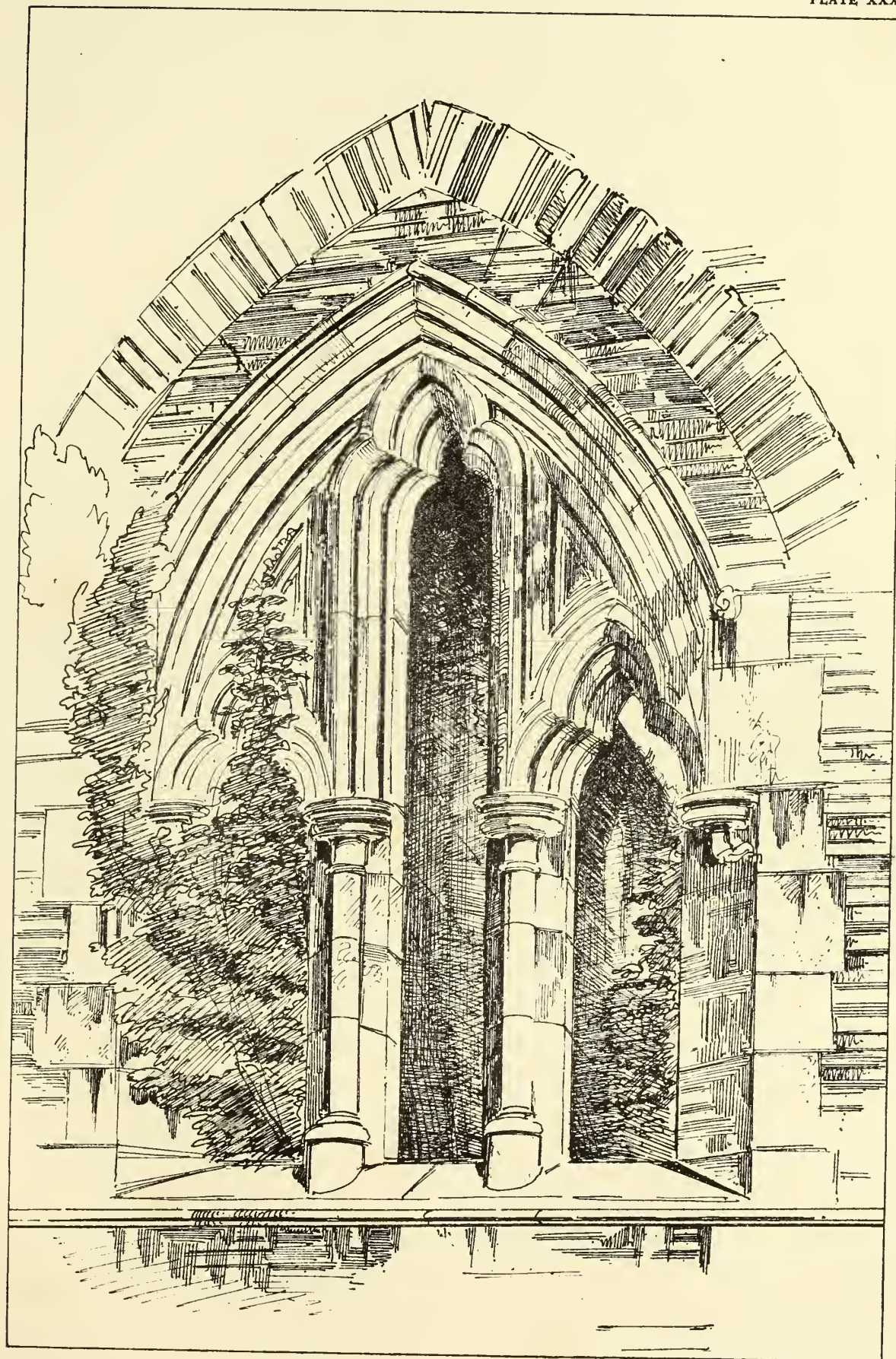
^{ooo} This is now placed in the presbytery.

^{ppp} This "second pavement" existed until the innovations carried out by Mr. Blore, in the present century. It was, up to that date, enclosed from the transepts by solid screens of oak-work. These were then removed, and the area itself levelled, the result being the formation of that most awkward flight of five steps by which the presbytery is now approached. It is to be hoped that under the present able "surveyor" the ancient levels may be restored.

^{qqq} Hence those modern reredoses, designed in the manner of the thirteenth century, are anachronisms.

^{rrr} This rood is shown in one of the drawings of abbat Islip's funeral in the Herald's College (and published in the "Vetusta Monumenta"). It is evidently, from its design, as there shown, of early date.

^{sss} Cf. Mr. Burges' paper in the "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," p. 121.



TINTERN ABBEY-CHURCH.
WEST WINDOW OF THE SOUTH AISLE.

which the kings of Scotland had always been crowned, and which Edward I. caused to be removed from the abbey of Scone.

"No stone," says Mr. Burges, "ever had so wonderful a history. It is said to have been the identical one upon which Jacob's head rested when, at Bethel, he saw the vision of the angels ascending and descending: it had thence travelled into Egypt, from thence into Spain, thence to Ireland, and lastly to Scotland. Moreover, king Kenneth caused the following distich to be engraved upon it:—

'Ni fallat fatum Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem regnare tenentur ibidem.'

The termination of the eastern limb of the church is apsidal. Its designer was evidently well acquainted with the chevets of the great contemporary churches of France—Rheims, Amiens, and Beauvais—yet its plan differs greatly from any of these. The apse is five-sided, as at Rheims, but its sides, instead of forming five faces of a decagon, are distributed thus—the eastern three are sides of an octagon, the other two, to right and left, incline but slightly from the general line of the lateral arcades of the church. This system, peculiar to Westminster, has these great advantages: it avoids the narrowness of the apsidal bays, so unpleasantly apparent in the french examples, and it gives a beautiful gentleness of transition from the line of the main arcades into the sweep of the apse. There is, further, a great peculiarity in the arrangement of the apsidal chapels, which are far more spacious in their proportions than in the great French chevets. This advantage is obtained by the omission of one of the lateral rectangular chapels (on each side), by which the five radiating chapels are made to occupy much more than the semicircle, though every line of their setting-out converges with mathematical exactness to one central point, that about which the whole chevet is described.^{uu}

Beyond the high altar and the "celebrantium cathedra sacerdotum," was the chapel of the patron-saint, occupying the whole of the apse proper. Of the feretry, of Purbeck marble inlaid with glass mosaic, I need not here speak, "when," as Eusebius says, under similar circumstances, "the testimony of the eyes renders needless instruction through the ear." I will only remark that the existing wooden shrine which surmounts the feretry, and in which lies the body of the Confessor, was constructed in the reign of Philip and Mary, by abbat Fakenham, when, in 1557, the relics were restored to the position from which Henry VIII. had caused them to be removed. Henry Machyn, in his diary, says, "Ytt was a godly shyte to have seen yt, how reverently he was cared from the plassee that he was taken up wher he was led when that the abbay was spowled and robyd; and so he was cared and goodly syngyng and senssyng as has bene sene and masse song."

^{uu} On the setting-out of this, the only quite perfect chevet, see my father's "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," p. 21, *et seq.*

At the west end of the shrine was, as was usual in such cases, an altar.^{uuu} The side-curtains of this altar were hung upon rods, of which the ends were supported by twisted columns of marble enriched with mosaic-work, upon whose summits were placed figures of St. John the evangelist and St. Edward.^{vv}

It does not appear that any screen, even of iron-work, fenced off the chapel of the saint from the sanctuary itself, since, upon the removal, in 1867, of the portions of the altar-screen (erected in the fifteenth century) which abutted upon the main piers, these were discovered to be ornamented by coats of arms, emblazoned upon paper, and pasted upon the marble pillars.^{www} Whatever may have been the occasion for which these, no doubt temporary, decorations were put up, it seems clear that at the date of their execution—some time prior to the erection of the altar-screen—these piers stood free and unencumbered.

With regard to the system of coloured decoration adopted in this church, some few facts have recently come to light. From these it would appear that, in spite of the so-called "constructional polychrome" of its vaultings, the whole interior was—with the exception, of course, of those portions which were executed in the Purbeck marble—distempered white, and "stoned" in red lines. The diaper-work of the triforium was gilded upon a ground of red, and the sculptured bosses were similarly relieved by gilding and colour, the labels having inscriptions illuminated upon them, some of which are still legible. The wonderfully rich tone of colour, in which this interior surpasses all others that I have seen, is due, in great measure, to the singular fact that the tempera painting was, in this instance, protected by a coat of some sort of varnish. To the gradual darkening of this resinous film, where it has remained, and to the exposure, more or less complete, of the two kinds of stone employed in the construction, in those portions in which it has perished, is due that exquisite beauty of colour which is quite unique.

This simply perfect work has been termed^{xxx} "a great french thought expressed in excellent english." I would rather compare it to one of Chaucer's lays, a sweetly english poem inspired by a french romance.

In Westminster we see illustrated the first stage in the history of bar-tracery. In the eastern portions of St. Alban's abbey, to which I have now to refer, we have a classical example of the perfection and refinement of which this form of tracery is capable, while still confined to strictly geometrical forms.

^{uuu} Already referred to in p. 109.

^{vv} These are indicated in the illumination from the MS. "Life of St. Edward," of the thirteenth century, now in the University library at Cambridge. (Cf. "Gleanings," p. 136.) The shrine, as it appeared early in the last century, is figured in Dart's "Westmonasterium," ii., pl. 23. There is a still better view of it, engraved about the same time, by Vertue.

^{www} These were at a height of about fourteen feet from the floor-line.

^{xxx} By my father, in his "Lectures on Medieval Architecture," i., p. 175.

This great work, which comprises, speaking generally, the whole of the existing building eastward of the central tower, was begun by abbat John Hertford, who ruled the house from 1235 until 1260. Matthew Paris, who was a monk of St. Alban's, informs us^{yyy} that in the year 1257 "it happened that, owing to some gaping cracks which caused alarm, the eastern part of the church of St. Alban (by the advice of the abbat and convent), after the roof had been removed, in advent, had its walls pulled down in order that that part might be rebuilt in a substantial manner."^{zzz}

Of the form of the eastern limb, as erected by abbat Paul, I have already spoken. It would appear that in the thirteenth-century reconstruction, the position of the high altar, and of the shrine of St. Alban's, was not interfered with. The eastern wall of the norman presbytery-aisles appear to have coincided with the termination of these aisles in the new work, and the arch which once opened upon the apse of abbat Paul, is represented by the square east-end of the reconstructed sanctuary.

More than this, one bay of the northern aisle, and two of the southern one, were left untouched, and still retain their norman character, and it is probable that much of the mass of the walls eastward of these bays is of the work of abbat Paul.

In the new design there was, however, included a great eastward extension of the area of the church. The terminating walls of the aisles, originally, of course, solid, were now pierced by arches, opening upon an ante-chapel, of two bays in length. Into this the eastern wall of the saint's chapel was opened by three arches, as at abbey Dore and at Salisbury.^{aaaa}

Of this ante-chapel, the westernmost bay served as the procession-path, while the second bay was reckoned as forming a part of the lady-chapel itself,^{bbbb} from which it appears to have been enclosed by some sort of screen, possibly of metal.

^{yyy} "Chron." (Bohn's ed.), iii., p. 213.

^{zzz} Matthew Paris died about two years after this. Of him, the anonymous author of the second section of the *Gesta Abbatum* (Roll's Edition, i., p. 394), speaks thus:—"Vir quidem eloquens et famosus, innumeris virtutibus plenus, historiographus ac chronographus magnificus, dictator egregius, corde frequenter revolvens—'otiositas inimica est animæ.' Quam quidem, ubi nunquam fecerat presentia cognitum, partibus remotis fama reddiderat divulgata commendatum. Inerat ei tanta subtilitas in auro et argento cœteroque metallo, in sculpendo et in picturis depingendo, ut nullum post se in latino orbe creditur reliquisse secundum." He adds, "Igitur, exemplo ipsius, operibus insudemus salubribus incessanter, ut cum ipso præmiis remuneramur cœlestibus. Amen."

^{aaaa} These arches occupy the position of the "triumphal arch," opening into the apse of Paul's presbytery, and the ante-chapel is upon the site of the original norman apse.

^{bbbb} See the translation, by Mr. Ridgway Lloyd, of "Certain annotations concerning the altars, monuments, and sites of tombs in the church of the monastery of St. Alban," the original of which is published among "*Chronica Monasterii Sancti Albani*," edited for the Master of the Rolls, by Mr. H. T. Riley. In this the procession-path is termed (p. 18), "the enclosure extending from the saint's chapel to the chapel of St. Mary." This is only one of the valuable con-

In this easternmost bay there were two altars, dedicated, respectively, in honour of St. Michael and of the blessed Virgin. This latter was known in popular parlance as our Lady's altar "of the four tapers," because, says the author of the "Annotations," "four wax tapers, maintained by four officers of the convent, are there daily lighted."^{cccc} Against each of the pillars of the ante-chapel stood an altar, the one under the invocation of St. Edmund, of east Anglia, the other under that of St. Peter. In the centre was the shrine of St. Amphibalus, with the altar of the saint at its head.

The high altar of the central chapel was, of course, dedicated in honour of our Lady, and in the vestry of the same was another altar, consecrated in memory of the transfiguration of the Saviour.^{dddd}

In the westernmost bay of the presbytery, thus remodelled, were the "ostia presbyterii," from which we may conclude that the stalls of the monks extended across the area below the central tower. The high altar occupied the position which is indicated, at this day, by the great altar-piece erected, between the years 1476 and 1492, by abbat Wallingford.^{eeee} But at the period with which we are now concerned, it stood free and detached in the centre of the presbytery, and the shrine of the saint, to the east of it, was in full view of those in the quire.

This table-like character of the altar is a tradition of the primitive ages, which was preserved until the later years of the middle ages, when it gave place, in England, to what may, perhaps, be described as the side-board treatment. In this innovation there was a great loss of dignity, as well as of traditional propriety, and modern ecclesiologists are ill-advised who elect to follow this late and short-lived fancy.^{ffff} At Rome this abuse—for such I

tributions to the elucidation of the history of this great church for which we are indebted to the learned labours of this accurate investigator.

^{cccc} Cf. p. 16 of Mr. Ridgway Lloyd's translation.

^{dddd} In and about the church were (in the year 1428) twenty-six altars, of which six were under the invocation of the Mother of God. At this date all but one of the altars, originally placed against the piers of the nave (from twelve to eighteen in number), had been removed.

^{eeee} Of this magnificent work the "*Registrum Johannis de Whethamstede*," i., 477, says:—"Abbat William Wallingford made that highly-decorated, sumptuous, and lofty face of the high altar, which greatly adorns the church, and fills with pleasure the eyes of beholders, and to all who gaze upon it, is the most divine object in this kingdom." (Cf. Mr. Ridgway Lloyd's work, p. 43.) It has now lost all its figures, as well as the great silver crucifix which once adorned it, and is but a lovely frame without a picture.

^{ffff} The original conception of the christian altar was not, however, wholly lost sight of by those who introduced this great innovation, as is clear from the doorways with which these reredos walls are pierced—as here, at St. Alban's, at Christchurch, Hants, at Westminster, and at Durham. The object of these doorways was to permit of the carrying out of the old english rite, which enjoined the aspersion and the incensing of the altar upon all its sides. "Deinde sacerdos thurificando altare circueat," at vespers. ("De Off. Eccl. Tract.," cap. xxv., in Dr. Rock's "*Church of Our Fathers*," iv., app., p. 19.) "Sacerdos accedat ad principale altare et



NETLEY ABBEY-CHURCH.
WINDOW IN THE SOUTH NAVE-AISLE.

regard it—was never naturalised, for there the traditions of the primitive church have ever been religiously conserved.

As to what were the arrangements of the high altar we have no evidence. Probably there was above it, as at Canterbury and elsewhere, the customary beam,^{xxxx} supporting the image of the Redeemer, which, as we may venture to infer from the most conspicuous feature of Wheathampsted's altar-piece, was not a "majesty," as at Canterbury, and here, too, before Trumpington's time, but a rood.

Of the whole work, the central and most conspicuous feature was the shrine of the sainted british legionary. The shrine itself has disappeared long ago, in the melting-pot of Henry VIII.: the honoured dust of Alban lies somewhere unnoticed, and, though angels guard it, "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."^{hhhh} But the wonderfully-wrought feretry may now again be seen erect upon its ancient site, and as we now view it, while it offers a most perfect example of the style we are now engaged in considering, it affords matter, too, for other and more serious reflection.

There exist in human nature tendencies destructive, as well as constructive. Each has its part in the drama of history, as in the diversions of childhood. Constructive energy was never more conspicuously displayed than during the centuries which constituted the middle ages. On the other hand, the advent of protestantism marks a period in which destructiveness for the time overbore the constructive impulse, and the force of this retrograde movement is still, after three centuries, unexhausted, though signs are not wanting that the inevitable reaction has at length commenced.

This marble structure, on which, enclosed in a fitting shrine, once rested the bones of the proto-martyr, of Britain (of this land of ours, *primitivæ deo et agno*), has recently, by most patient ingenuity, been in great part re-constructed on its ancient site. Its *débris*, through more than three centuries, has formed part of a wall, designed to secure, within the walls of the abbey-church, and upon the site of five desecrated altars, a convenient covered playground for the grammar-schools of St. Alban's

town. In contemplating this monument, whose fragments, like the dry bones in Ezekiel's weird vision, have thus, after long years of dissolution, come together, *ossa ad ossa, unumquodque ad juncturam suam*, two thoughts impress the mind. It is difficult to say which is the more striking fact: that men should ever have had the patience and the zeal to fashion, in so intractable a material, a work so tenderly delicate: or again, that men could have found it in their hearts to shiver into fragments, by the ruthless labour of one short hour, so fair and sweet a thing. Add to these subjects of wonder the one, common to and crowning both, that those who worked through long years to perfect its beauty, and those who defaced and destroyed this incomparable work, were alike actuated, or professed to be so, by a sense of duty to God. In that one structure, as it now stands, is summed up the history, of english church architecture as a living fact, and of the death which finally overtook it. The one is seen in the exquisite finish and beauty of the monument thus recovered from its ruins; the other in the marks, which it bears upon it, of the crowbar-blows which shattered it into splinters, starring the finely-wrought marble, as ice is shivered by a mattock. Thus in one work we may admire a masterpiece of human construction, and at the same time contemplate with wonder that re-action to primitive destructiveness to which protestantism, as an essentially negative idea, opened up a new career. If it is asked why the history of english church architecture ends in the sixteenth century, this one monument alone supplies an answer.

The great work, of which this exquisite marble shrine is the crowning glory, was not completed by one abbat. John Hertford, who, as we have seen, commenced it, finished, as I believe, but one aisle-bay upon the south side. His successors, Roger Norton (1260—1291) and John Berkhamsted (1291—1302), appear to have finished the presbytery itself, but they left the procession-path, and the ante-chapel beyond it, still incomplete, and carried the lady-chapel itself no higher than the string-course beneath the windows.

The Purbeck marble feretry destined to fall beneath the blows of the *Anglorum malleus*,ⁱⁱⁱⁱ was erected during the abbacy of John de Marinis (1302—1308). Walsingham, writing in 1380, states that "he caused the tomb and feretry of St. Alban to be removed from the place where it had stood"—presumably during the rebuilding of the presbytery—"and the marble tomb which we now see, to be constructed at a cost of 820 marks."^{jjjj}

The lady-chapel was completed by the next abbat, Hugh Eversden (1308—1326), as we learn from the following passage in the *Gesta abbatum*:—^{kkkk}

ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Edward I. is styled, upon his tomb at Westminster, *Scotorum malleus*. Henry was most successful when harrying his own subjects.

^{jjjj} Cf. Nero, D. 7., quoted by the late Dr. Nicholson in his "Abbey of St. Alban," p. 23.

^{kkkk} Roll's edition, ii., p. 115.

ipsum circumquaque aspergat," during the asperges. (Ib., cap. lxviii., p. 47.)

^{xxxx} Such a beam had been, as we know from the "Gesta Abbatum" (p. 283), erected above the high altar of the norman presbytery, some fifty years before, by abbat William Trumpington (1214-1235), of whom we read, "quasdam structuras nobilissimas circa majus altare construxit, cum quadam trabe, historiam Sancti Albani representante, quæ totam illam artificiosam machinam supereminet." Nor was this the first beam here erected, for we learn from the "Gesta" (p. 287) that abbat Trumpington's "machina" replaced a still earlier erection, which was by him removed into the south transept. "Transpositam veterem trabem quæ supra majus altare ponebatur—in australi ecclesiæ parte, juxta nobilem Mariolam, ad magnum ecclesiæ ornatum eminenter attollebat. In qua trabe, series duodecim patriarcharum et duodecim apostolorum, et in medio, majestas, cum ecclesia et synagoga, figuratur."

^{hhhh} Deut. xxxiv. 6; also cf. Jude 9.

"Hic Abbas cum, inter omnes electos Dei, Beatam ejus Genitricem speciali devotione veneraretur, loca sua et ornamenta eidem Virgini dedicare semper studuit toto posse. Inter cujus gesta, quæ semper fecit magnifica, Capellam dictæ Virginis in parte orientali ecclesiæ, inceptam a multorum annorum tempore, modo qui sequitur laudabili fine complevit.

"Erat siquidem quidam clericus Magister Reginaldus nomine, maximum corrodium et feodum de domo Sancti Albani percipiens, qui ad completionem dicti operis, divini amoris intuitu, manus adhibuit adjutrices. Sed cum in Curia Romana præfatus clericus, velut continue occupatus, moram faceret, tum propter ejus absentiam, tum propter procuratoris desidiam, rarus, piger, et tardus effectus ejusdem operis sequebatur. Tandem cum usque ad summitatem murorum opus fuisset perfectum cum magna morositate, idem clericus concessit in fata, testamento legans prædicto operi ducentas marcas. Quam pecuniam dominus Abbas Hugo recipiens, in tantum desudavit circa ipsius operis completionem, ut, in brevi tectum cum electo meremio et volta arcuata fenestrisque vitreis decentissimis, opus pulcherrimum, consummaret, ad honorem Virginis gloriosæ; Waltero de Langleie, et Alicia, ejus uxore, juvantibus eundem Abbatem in expensis."

He further brought to a finish the space, comprising the procession-path and the vestibule to the chapel of St. Mary, which had hitherto remained incomplete. In doing this he departed in two particulars from the plan of its original designer. He omitted the four columns, by which its central space would have been divided into three alleys, and he also substituted for the stone groinings a flat ceiling of wood, panelled and painted. This portion of the work is thus spoken of in the *Gesta*.—"Illum locum insuper, formæ quadratæ capellæ, contiguum, separantem presbyterium et dictam capellam (sc. B. V. M.), cum celatura in cujus medio beatæ virginis assumptio figuratur (in quo jam feretrum sancti Amphibali collocatum est) eodem tempore studuit consummare."¹¹¹¹

The object of these changes, the execution of which occupied, as we have seen, about half a century, was not merely an enlargement of the eastern limb and the addition of a chapel of our Lady, it was, first and foremost, the substitution of the traditional english rectangular termination, in place of the apsidal one, given to the church by the first norman abbat. Another respect in which, apart from that of style, the new work differed from its predecessor was, the fact that the central area of the presbytery, originally, no doubt, ceiled, was groined. This vaulting was designed to be of stone, as is clear from the preparation made for the erection of flying buttresses, but it was eventually carried out in oak, and these buttresses were therefore omitted.

This vault was decorated in colour, indications of which are still to be seen through the later

paintings, executed (in the fifteenth century) by abbat John Whethampsted, whose cognisances, the agnus dei of the Baptist, and the eagle of the Evangelist, form its conspicuous adornment.

The style of the earlier portion of the work is that of the most perfect geometrical decorated, that of the lady-chapel is an equally charming example of the transition, from this, to the more graceful, but less masculine manner which succeeded to it.

I may notice in passing that the whole of the new buildings eastward of the great tower were covered by flat, leaded roofs. It is a mere popular prejudice which supposes that roofs of high pitch are essential, even to the earliest phase of the decorated style.

This noble example is particularly valuable, as illustrating the history of the evolution of window tracery, with the course of which, as it determined the progress of architecture generally, we are here more particularly concerned.

One other example of the perfected geometrical style I will mention. It is small in dimensions compared with the great works we have just been considering, but its exquisite beauty, and the interest which attaches to its history, dispense me from the necessity of making any apology for dwelling shortly upon the church of St. Etheldreda, in Ely Place, Holborn.

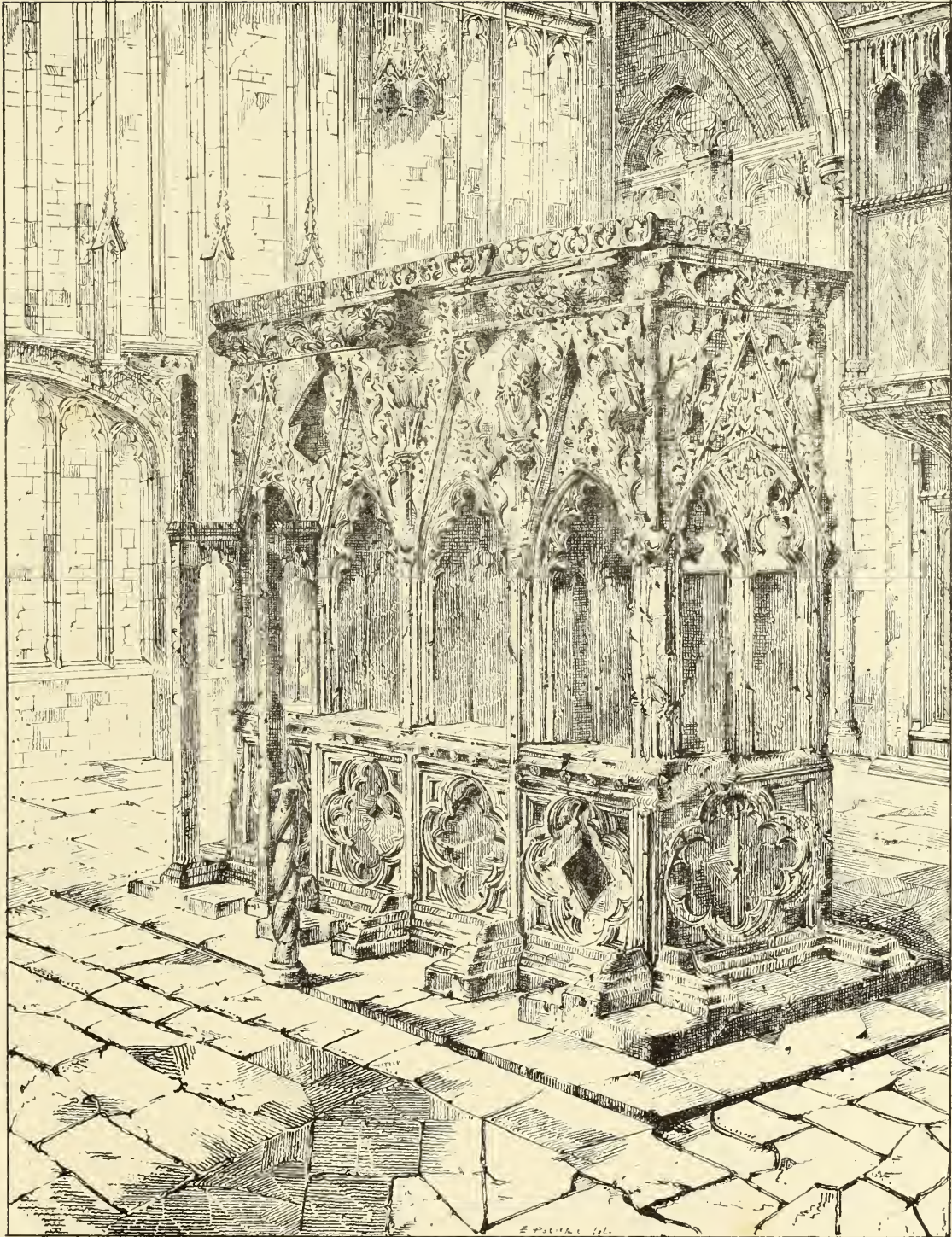
This lovely monument is all that the Reformation, and its *sequelæ*, have left us of the town residence of the bishops of Ely.

The property on which this, then sub-urban, palace was erected, was originally the bequest of bishop John Kirkeby (1286—1290) who left to the see what is termed in the licence granted, in the thirty-first year of his reign, by Edward I.,¹¹¹¹¹¹ "unum messuagium et novem cotagia cum pertinentiis in vico de Holeburn in suburbiis civitatis nostræ London." This estate, says Bentham,¹¹¹¹¹¹ was so much

¹¹¹¹¹¹ Given in a paper, entitled "St. Etheldreda and her Churches in Ely and London," by Alexander Wood, M.A., in the "Belfrey" of April, 1876, p. 27. To this valuable communication I am largely indebted for the history of this monument. I will also refer the curious reader to the "Remarks on Ely Palace, Holborn, accompanying some original drawings of the same, made in 1772, kindly given by the Rev. Charles Ruck Keene, of Swincombe House, Nettlebed, to Sir G. Gilbert Scott, R.A., F.S.A., and presented by him to the Society of Antiquaries." In this paper my father very effectually demolishes the theory—sufficiently absurd upon the face of it—that the present building is not the chapel, but the dining-hall of the ancient palace. His argument is summed up in one short sentence. We know, from the Harleian MS., 3,789, 15 *et seq.*, that a drinking-cellar was established beneath the chapel in Elizabeth's reign; and also that the back approach to the palace having been closed, "the bishop was fain to own as a courtesy and kindness the bare convenience of a back-gate to convey away the stable-dung, and is always forced to bring his horses through the great hall whenever he uses them." Upon this my father remarks:—"Now, of two buildings, one ten or twelve feet above the ground, and the other upon a level with it, it would seem strange if a public cellar to sell drink in were formed beneath the latter, and the bishop's horses were constantly led through the former" ("Remarks," p. 14).

¹¹¹¹¹¹¹ "History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely," p. 151, footnote 11.

¹¹¹¹ "Gesta Abbatum," Roll's edition.



THE SHRINE OF ST. ALBAN.

PURBECK MARBLE SUB-STRUCTURE.

enlarged by subsequent purchases of land that the whole contained, upon the accession of Elizabeth, about twenty acres.

It was then a very delightfully situated sub-urban residence. The Fleet river—now a sewer, but then a clear, flowing stream, taking its rise from the springs of Hampstead and Highgate, and flowing through the Kentish town and under Battle Bridge to join the Thames by Baynard's Castle—ran between it and the New-gate of the city, to whose walls it formed, for a considerable distance, a natural dyke. This delightful residence was thus without the city but within its liberties,^{oooo} and its gardens, sloping down towards the Fleet river, were famous for their produce. Even to this day their fame lives, in the name of Hatton Garden, given to a street upon the site of this once-noted spot. Sir Thomas More, in his "Historie of King Richard the Thirde,"^{pppp} has the following:—"On friday the thirteenth day of June (1483) many lordes assembled in the tower, and there sat in counsaile devising the honorable solemnpnite of the kinges coronacion. These lordes so sytting together comoning of thys matter, the protector (Richard III.) came in among them, fyrst about nine of the clock, saluting them curtesly, and excusing hymself that he had bene from them so long, saieng merely that he had bene a-slepe that day. And after a little talking with them, he sayd unto the bishop of Elye: My lord you have very good strawberries at your gardayne in Holberne, I require you let us have a messe of them. And therewith in al the hast he sent hys servant for a messe of strawberries."

Shakespeare has borrowed from Sir Thomas More this incident. He renders it thus^{qqqq} :—

"*Gloucester.* My Lord of Ely.

Ely. My lord.

Gloucester. When I was last in Holborn, I saw good strawberries in your garden there, I do beseech you send for some of them.

Ely. Marry, and will, my lord, with all my heart."

The prelate thus referred to was John Morton, More's early patron, from whom, no doubt, he obtained the story which Shakespeare has adopted. England owes to him some gratitude, since it was he who negotiated, in his exile during the supremacy of Richard III., the marriage between the Duke of Richmond and the eldest daughter of Edward IV., by which the long feud of the rival roses was healed. In 1486 he became archbishop of Canter-

bury, and seven years later he was raised to the cardinalate, under the title of St. Anastasia.^{rrrr}

The chapel of this episcopal mansion, with which alone we are here concerned, was erected by bishop William de Luda (Louth), who, in 1290, succeeded the famous Hugh Balsham, the founder of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and of the chapel of St. John's college in the same university.^{ssss}

It was designed by him to serve at once as the private chapel of the prelates of Ely, and as his own chantry. He gave by his will, says Bentham,^{tttt} "two hundred marks, to purchase twenty marks a year for maintenance of three chaplains to pray for his soul, and the souls of the bishops of Ely and their successors for ever" in the chapel there—*i.e.*, in Holbourn in the suburbs of London.

Bishop de Luda was interred at Ely, under a sumptuous canopied tomb, upon the south side of the presbytery, which still exists, although its beauty has been well-nigh destroyed by a wretched caricature of the coloured decoration which once adorned it, perpetrated in recent times. At the present time the slab which once contained the memorial brass of De Luda is laid level with the floor, but, as my father states,^{uuuu} "its central compartment was originally raised as an altar-tomb, as in Crouchbeck's monument at Westminster. It was cut down at a later date, in order to form an entrance to the presbytery. The sides, which once formed its front, still exist in the chapel of bishop West." Thus, though his remains lie at Ely, it was his intention that his chantry should be in Holborn, and it is to him that we owe this singularly beautiful example of the perfected geometrical style.

The preservation of this unique monument to our own day is little short of miraculous.

The see of Ely fared badly under Elizabeth's rule. The virgin-queen compelled the intruded bishop,^{vvvv} Dr. Richard Cox, to alienate the greater part of the episcopal residence to her favourite, Sir Christopher Hatton. The bishop remonstrated: "In his conscience," he said, "he could not do it, being a piece of sacrilege—he could not bring his mind to be so ill a trustee for his successors, nor to violate the pious wills of kings and princes, and in effect to rescind their last testaments." But he and his fellows had gone too far along the road of mis-appropriation to be able to offer any

^{rrrr} Cf. Bentham's "Ely Cathedral," pp. 179-181.

^{ssss} This invaluable monument of the antiquity of this society, together with the remains of another smaller chapel, also of Balsham's erection, was destroyed, against the advice of my father, in order to enlarge the first court of the college, in 1863. As a consequence of this, St. John's no longer disputes with Peterhouse the priority of foundation.

^{tttt} "History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely," p. 153. Bentham also states (in footnote 7) that "this will was proved in the court of Hustings, London, Die lune prox., post festum S. Luce Evang. an. R. R. Edw. fil. Regis Hen. 26."

^{uuuu} In a MS. note to Mr. Wood's paper, now in my possession.

^{vvvv} His predecessor, bishop Thirlby, was deprived, in 1559, for refusing to take the oath which recognised the supremacy, in a christian church, of a woman.

^{oooo} These are marked still, or were so within our own day, by such advanced posts as Holborn-bars, Norton Folgate (Foregate), and Temple bar. These corresponded with those archways, such as that of Drusus upon the Appian way, which, standing far in advance of the original walls of Rome (those of Servius Tullius), indicated the limits of the *pomarium*, which in later times was included within the walls of Aurelian and Probus. A similar line is indicated to this day, in many of the french cities, by the stations which mark the limits of the *octroi*.

^{pppp} Whittingham's reprint, p. 69.

^{qqqq} "Richard III.," act iii., scene 4. That More's history is his authority for the scene, is clear from the passage—"My nobles, lords, and cousins all, good morrow. I have been long a sleeper."

effectual opposition to the will of the supreme ordinary of the church, and his remonstrances were of no avail.

Sir Christopher's occupancy produced certain results which were characteristic but not altogether edifying. "Half of the vault, or burying-place, under the chapel," says the Harleian MS., 3,789, "is made use of as a public cellar (or was so very lately) to sell drink in, there having been frequent revellings heard there during divine service;" or as Malcomb puts it in his "London"—"the intoxication of the people assembled often interrupted the offices of religion above them."^{www}

That portion of the palace which ultimately remained in the possession of the see of Ely, and which included the chapel, was leased by bishop Lancelot Andrews to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador. There is a good story to be told in connection with his occupancy of the house. Sir Christopher Hatton died (apparently of chagrin at losing the favour of his royal patroness) in 1591, leaving a widow, whose hand "was an object of rivalry to those great luminaries of the bar, Coke and Bacon. She gave her preference to the former,"^{xxxx} but the marriage was not a happy one, and she quarrelled hopelessly with her new husband. She seems, indeed, to have been of a disagreeable temper, for the spanish ambassador, who had the art of ingratiating himself with the people of quality, ladies especially, could not prevail upon her to allow him the use of the garden-gate, "to go abroad into the fields." "Whereupon, in a private audience lately with the king," James I., "he told him that my lady Hatton was a strange lady, for she would not suffer her husband to come in at her fore door, nor him to go out at her back door."^{yyy}

What, however, is of lasting interest in the occupancy of the palace by Gondomar, is the fact that the chapel reverted, during the residence here of himself and of his successor, the marquis Inijosa, to its original purpose, and the *oblato munda* was again celebrated daily within its venerable walls. Mr. Wood refers^{zzzz} to a letter of Chamberlain to Carleton, of October 30th, 1619, in which it is stated that it will be a disgrace to religion if mass is again said in the chapel of the bishops of Ely. Four years later, Chamberlain, in another letter to Carleton, says that the chapel of Ely House, "serves for the english retainers of the marquis Inijosa, who begin to talk of toleration"; and in a scurrilous pamphlet, printed in Holland in 1624, entitled "The Second Part of Vox Populi, a Gondomar appearing in the Likeness of Matchiavell in a Spanish Parliament," Gondomar is made to say that the church ceremonies drew more people to his private chapel in Holborn, than the best protestant preachers of sermons could do to any church they had.^{aaaa}

^{www} Quoted in my father's "Remarks on Ely Palace, Holborn," p. 14.

^{xxxx} Wood's "St. Etheldreda," p. 34.

^{yyy} Howell, quoted by Wood, "St. Etheldreda," p. 35.

^{zzzz} *Ib.* ^{aaaa} *Ib.*

The chantry of bishop De Luda was thus, of all our medieval churches, the one in which mass was last said; and, by a remarkable destiny, it is also the first in which, in our own day, mass has again been celebrated.

In 1772 bishop Keene surrendered the property to the crown, which thereupon proceeded to pull down the whole of the buildings, with the exception of the chapel, and to let out the site upon building leases. Four years later the chapel itself was sold. It was occupied for many years by a Welsh congregation, and a few years ago this priceless monument was upon the point of being destroyed, to give space for the erection of a big workshop. An attempt was made to save it by the Institute of British Architects, at the instance of my father, but a kindlier fate has restored it again to the religion of its founder.

It is in form a parallelogram of, internally, ninety feet by thirty, being about the same dimensions as St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, the Sainte chapelle of St. Louis, at Paris, and the beautiful chapel of the templars at Temple Balsal, in Warwickshire.

Like the two first of these, it is raised upon an undercroft which can scarcely be termed a crypt, since it is not vaulted. Domestic chapels were commonly thus arranged, but the lower story is generally groined.^{bbbb} In this instance the upper floor is carried by eight story-posts, bearing massive beams, all of chestnut. Internally the side windows are connected by pedimental panels, into which are built brackets to support images of saints, before each of which in a metal sconce there burnt, upon the festival of the saint, and upon other great days, a wax taper. The easternmost bay upon the south side contained the triple sedilia and lavacrum, originally of great beauty, but now to be traced only by most scant indications of their design.^{cccc} The western bay forms a sort of ante-chapel.

The side windows are brought down unusually near the floor, in a manner which gives to the interior a very domestic character, though one of great dignity, and there were clearly no stalls. The roof is of the polygonal cradle form, boarded upon the under side, with massive tie-beams and kingposts. It was no doubt richly painted. It is pertinent to observe that the nave of Ely cathedral is roofed and ceiled in the same manner.^{dddd}

^{bbbb} This is the case in the royal chapels already mentioned. The same is the arrangement of the beautiful chapel of Broughton Castle, near Banbury, which is much of the same date as De Luda's chantry, and is valuable, not only on account of its elegant window tracery, but also as retaining intact its ancient altar, the mensa of which rests upon stone brackets built into the east wall.

^{cccc} A door has recently been pierced in the wall, where once the sedilia stood, and this having been carried out in the style of the chapel itself, will tend to obscure, to future antiquaries, the original arrangement of the sanctuary.

^{dddd} This roof is ancient, and was undoubtedly boarded from the first, although the actual ceiling is quite modern. The following buildings, among many others of this date, are, or once were, thus covered in—St. Stephen's, Westminster, Merton college chapel, Wimbourn Minster, the chapter house

This building, so unique in its history, is particularly valuable, as illustrating the history of the window tracery. It still retains one of its ancient side windows, of which my father was the discoverer. "I had long and often lamented," he says,^{eeee} "the mutilated condition of the side windows, and was one day trying to get at some clue to the design of the tracery, by examining the scars where it had been amputated, when the thought struck me that the two westernmost of them, being blocked up by the adjoining houses, might, if opened out, be found to retain their decorative features. I applied for permission to do this, and what was my delight, on removing the material which obtruded them, to find the old window—mutilated, indeed, and shattered, but still retaining every element needful to the recovery of its design."

Its east and west windows are grand examples of the perfected working out of the bar-tracery, being in their treatment intermediate between those of the presbytery of St. Alban's abbey and those of the lady-chapel of the same church.^{ffff}

The examples upon which I have dwelt, as characteristic of the perfected geometrical style, serve to illustrate the important part which window tracery had come to play in the architectural movement of the last quarter of the thirteenth century. They further enable us to trace the influences which led to that further developement of it which is so characteristic of the later Edwardian period.

As soon as ever the attention of architects had become directed from the forms of the window-piercings to the lines of the tracery-bars, the irregular forms of the spandrils, occurring between the several geometrical forms and the comprising arch, began to attract notice.

at Canterbury, and the chancels of Trumpington Church by Cambridge, and of St. Nicholas, Pevensey. The treatment is indeed common enough, and quite characteristic of churches of the latter part of the thirteenth, and the earlier years of the fourteenth centuries.

^{eeee} "Lectures on Medieval Architecture," i., p. 182. My father had a singular love for this building.

^{ffff} The side windows are figured in my father's "Lectures," i., plate 115, and the east and west windows in plates 171 and 172 of the same volume.

These, being determined by the chance juxtaposition of the geometrical figures, are perfectly irregular, capricious, and unsymmetrical. In plate-tracery this was not observed, since attention was not directed to them, but as soon as the lines of the tracery came to be thought of, the awkwardness of these residual spaces began to be felt.

The meaning of flowing-tracery is simply this—the persistent endeavour to bring all the lines of the tracery into an harmonious relation with each other, and above all, with the comprising pointed arch which forms the frame of the entire design.

The first part of this problem was the earliest attempted to be solved. It was felt that the traceried circles rode very awkwardly upon the pointed heads of the window-lights. The steps taken to remedy this crudity were therefore attempts to combine the two into a more harmonious arrangement.

This was essayed in two ways—the one is what is termed the *reticulated* tracery, a modification, evidently, of the geometrical tracery formed of superimposed circles: the other is that termed *intersecting*, in which an attempt is made to determine the whole design of the tracery by an extension of the forms given by the arched heads of the lights. A third form intermediate between these two is that in which all the figures of the tracery consist of *spherical triangles*, the base of one resting upon the apices of the two below.

These three forms of tracery supply the elements of that intermediate style, which forms the transition between the geometrical and the flowing systems of tracery.

In all three, however, and in the immense variety of patterns in which these principles were expanded and combined, there is still a want of continuity between the tracery-lines and the enclosing window-arch. It is the glory of our english fourteenth-century architects that they, first, set themselves to the solution of this problem, inexorably demanded by the style as the condition of its further advance, and that they were the first to solve it.

The results, at which they thus arrived, determined the character of the style for nearly a century. Upon these I shall have to dwell in the next chapter.

DISCURSUS

ON CERTAIN MEDIEVAL INNOVATIONS IN THE DISPOSITION OF CHURCHES.

IN the course of that period of the architectural history of our country which is treated of in chapter iv., the long series of changes by which the basilica of the primitive ages was transformed into the typical medieval church was completed. Some of the steps by which the disposition of plan characteristic of the middle ages was arrived at, have been in the course of our survey already referred to. But the subject is one of so much importance, to a right understanding of the history of church architecture, and to an intelligent study of those ancient churches with which we are naturally most familiar—the medieval churches of our own country—that it will be well to give a short *résumé* of the progress which, starting from the simple basilican model, had for its result a type of plan so strikingly different from that in which it had originated.

Christian churches have, from the first ages, been composed of two compartments, distinguished, more or less strongly, in the disposition of the structure itself—a sanctuary in which is placed the altar, and a nave in which the faithful assemble. It is most important to a proper comprehension of the subject to realise this two-fold division of the church into sanctuary and nave, as lying at the root of the whole matter. This distinction of parts is primal, and alone essential.

Let it be clearly understood, then, that the typical distribution of a church is—not nave, and quire, or nave, quire, and sanctuary, but—nave, and sanctuary.^a

Having constantly before us our own ancient churches, erected mostly during the four centuries which constitute our middle ages, and new buildings constructed in imitation of them, and upon similar lines, we are apt to suppose that a church consists typically of a nave and a quire (or chancel). This is a mistaken notion: a church consists *essentially* of a nave and a sanctuary; a quire being an addition, necessary, indeed, where there is a collegiate establishment, regular or secular, but otherwise wholly *ad libitum*, and in the smaller churches unnecessary. In a basilica, this principle is enforced by the disposition of the structure itself. The triumphal arch divides the sanctuary from the body of the church, and the quire (where

^a The nave, by medieval writers, is commonly designated *ecclesia*, a word never applied to the sanctuary, to which, from its meaning, it is inapplicable. It signifies, of course, in strictness, the assembly of the faithful, and is used by the author of the Acts of the Apostles (xix. 32) for the riotous mob at Ephesus, who, rushing "with one accord into the theatre," "all with one voice, for the space of about two hours, cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians," but who are not, on that account, to be confused even with the pagan *chorus*. The english equivalent of *ecclesia* is *church*, which is never applied to the sanctuary, but (when used distinctively) means always the nave. Thus, in the ballad of Lord Lovel—

"They buried him in St. Mary's church,
And her in St. Mary's quire."

So, too, in the first rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, we read of "the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel."

it occurs) is a mere enclosure in the midst of the nave. The sanctuary, too, is most usually raised upon a confessional crypt, high above the general level of the church, while the quire is elevated little, if at all, above the floor of the nave.

In many of the smaller basilicas of Rome, as in other early churches, a quire is wholly wanting. Even in St. Mary Major, although anciently this basilica was furnished with ambones, there appears to have been no choir-enclosure.^b No mention is made of a quire in the descriptions of the churches erected by Constantine at Jerusalem and at Tyre; the ancient St. Peter's appears to have had simply a wooden structure, placed opposite to one of the southern pillars of the nave, to serve this purpose, which, in the existing church, is represented by a small latticed enclosure against the north-western pier of the dome. Among the oriental christians, in many respects so conservative of early usage, this primitive twofold division has ever prevailed. Their churches are still basilican in disposition. Their structural division now, as anciently, divides off the sanctuary from the nave, and the choir has its station without the iconostasis, in the body of the church.

If we turn now to one of the larger churches of the middle ages—the cathedral of Salisbury, for example^c—we find there a very different arrangement. In the first place, the quire has become an essential feature of the plan, determining more or less the whole scheme of the building. In the next place, the principal structural division of the church is no longer placed, as in the basilica, between the sanctuary and the nave, but has been shifted westward. It now separates no longer sanctuary from nave, but quire from nave.

That which had been originally a very subordinate feature, often, even in large churches, altogether wanting, had now come to be of the first importance, separated off in the most conspicuous manner from the body of the church, and but slightly distinguished from the sanctuary itself.

In place, therefore, of the basilican triumphal arch, marking the separation of nave and sanctuary, we find now the chancel-arch, the high screen, the rood-loft, the rood-beam, and the rood—the whole forming the most striking feature both of the structure and of the adornment of the building—placed between the quire and the nave; while the distinction of the quire from the sanctuary has become of quite subordinate importance, and is, in the case of the smaller churches, indicated only by a slight difference in the floor-level, and by the hooks which supported the lanten veil, drawn across the presbytery at this line.

In the same way the transept, which, in those of the basilicas in which it occurs, lies immediately in front of the sanctuary, in the great medieval churches has shifted its position, and is now drawn across the church westward, not of the sanctuary, but of the quire.

The ecclesiological history of the middle ages may almost be summed up in this one point, the development of the quire.

In the churches of the romanesque and of the transitional periods, the eastern limb had continued, as in the basilicæ, to form the sanctuary, and the quire, as a rule, was still a mere enclosure within the nave. This arrangement, all but universal in the earlier monastic churches—Canterbury,^d St. Alban's, Winchester, Gloucester, Kirkstall, Rievaulx, Tintern, and

^b See the plan in Letarouilly's "Edifices de Rome Moderne," vol. iii., p. 311.

^c Salisbury is a particularly good example, both on account of the importance of the rite for the performance of which it was planned, and also because it was built *de novo*, just at the period at which the medieval innovation reached its full development, and being erected on a new site, its builders were unfettered by any remains of a more ancient plan.

^d It was the arrangement of Lanfranc's rebuilding which was completed about the year 1077. The characteristic medieval innovation was introduced here only twenty years later, by that entire remodelling and

Westminster—is no exceptional peculiarity, as we are too apt to regard it. It is in reality the ancient and typical plan, the tradition of the basilica and of the earliest christian churches.

It is, in truth, Lincoln, York, Lichfield, and Salisbury which represent the *abnormal* arrangement, the great ecclesiological innovation of the middle ages.

In introducing this striking change, by which the principal structural division of the building was transferred from the eastern end of the quire, to its western limit, the medieval architects did not, of course, discard altogether the venerable traditions of the preceding twelve centuries of church history. Indeed, at Salisbury and elsewhere, the lesser transepts, an invention of the twelfth century, and peculiar to our own country,^e was so placed as to serve—as the great transept had served in the basilicæ—to mark off the sanctuary from the rest of the building. The eastern transepts of Canterbury, Lincoln, York, and Salisbury, take the place, very obviously, of the great transepts of the ancient St. Peter's, of St. Paul's without the walls, and St. John Lateran.^f

Indeed this primitive and essential division between the sanctuary and the whole of the rest of the church, although, in the course of the middle ages, it became subordinate to that introduced between the quire and the nave, was yet never wholly lost sight of, and it was far more prominent to the minds of the medieval ritualists (as appears from their writings) than by the study of the buildings alone we might be led to suppose. Thus Durandus treats of a church as consisting (including the *atrium*) of four parts. He speaks of the "*cancellus sive peribolus*" which surrounded the quire—whence the rood-screen and the side-enclosures of our chancels are derived—and also of the "*cancelli*" which separated the quire from the sanctuary and the altar—the equivalent of the oriental iconostasis, of the sanctuary-screens of some few of our own churches (as, for example, St. David's cathedral^g), and of the modern altar-rail. Quoting from Ricardus de Sancto Victore, he says, "*Dispositio ecclesiæ triplicem statum salvandorum significat*," and he points to the structural nature of this triple division when he adds, "*Strictius est enim sanctuarium quam chorus, et chorus quam corpus*."^h

The distinction between the quire and the sanctuary, inconspicuous as it generally is in the medieval buildings, is in the ritual most strongly marked. It is, indeed, of the very essence of the medieval, as of all other christian rites. In the celebration of the high mass, for example, according to the Sarum use, two quite distinct bodies of clerics take part: there is the choir, who occupy the stalls and their subsellæ, and there is the celebrant, with the "ministers of the altar," who occupy the sanctuary. Each of these two bodies has its distinctive vestures. To the choir belong the surplice and cope, to the altar-ministers, the albe, dalmatic, and chasuble.

These two groups of ecclesiastics entered the church at different periods in the service. The choir, of course, before the commencement of tierce, the celebrant and his ministers *after* tierce, during the singing of the *gloria patri* of the introit.ⁱ Those of the choir who had

enlargement of the eastern limb of the church, which took place during the archi-episcopate of Lanfranc's immediate successor. This fact, as I have already had occasion to note, enables us to fix with precision the date of the first appearance, at least in England, of the new fashion, as coincident with the primacy of St. Anselm.

^e It first occurs in that enlargement of Lanfranc's presbytery which was carried out under Anselm's priors.

^f At York, indeed, the small eastern transept appears to occupy the actual site of the great transept (great, of course, ritually, not as to dimensions) of the church of St. Paulinus, referred to at p. 45.

^g At St. Alban's abbey there was a second rood under the eastern arch of the central tower, between the quire and the presbytery. A portion of the beam upon which it stood still exists *in situ*.

^h "Rationale Divinorum Officiorum," i, 1-3.

ⁱ "Sarum Consuetudinary," cap. 93.

to take a part in the altar-service never advanced further eastward than the "gradus chori" at the eastern end of the stalls, while the altar-ministers never passed to the west of this step.^j

The "gradus chori," so constantly referred to in the old rituals, was in fact the limit of the two domains. To this step the clerics of the choir came up to be aspersed "ad gradum chori":^k to it four clerics of the choir advanced to sing the tract:^l as far as this step the deacon came down to convey the kiss of peace to the "rectores," and through them to the whole choir.^m The division therefore between quire and sanctuary was still ritually the important one, although in the structure of churches of the ordinary medieval type it had become subordinate to that between the quire and the nave.

It remains to inquire how this great change in the planning of churches, so striking a characteristic of medieval, in contrast to primitive, usage had, in course of time, come about.

The christian church in its rudimentary form was, as we have already seen, in some sense a reproduction of the jewish temple. The *atrium* is the equivalent of "the court of the israelites." The nave, of "the holy place," the sanctuary, of "the holy of holies." Into "the court of the israelites," under the old law, Jews alone could enter; into the christian *atrium* those not in full communion with the church are admitted. To "the holy place" of the jewish rite the priests only had access; into the nave, its equivalent in the christian temple, every baptised man, not under censure, has the right to enter. Within "the holy of holies" of the ancient dispensation, the high-priest alone might enter; while the christian sanctuary is open to every christian presbyter.ⁿ

The jewish *sanctum sanctorum* was separated from the holy place by a veil, and a similar seclusion of the altar and of the altar-area existed in the early christian churches.^o But there appear to have been two very distinct methods of arranging these veils in the early church,

^j Except when on Sundays the subdeacon and the deacon passed through the quire in order to sing the epistle and gospel in the rood-loft. "Sarum Consuetudinary," cap. 93.

^k Ib., cap. 68.

^l Ib., cap. 94.

^m Ib., cap. 93.

ⁿ Upon the same principle (as we have already seen) the vestment, which in the mosaic rite is peculiar to the high-priest (Ex. xxviii. 31-35), is now worn by every priest, and, upon occasion, even by clerics of lower rank. So, too, under the old law it was true "that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship" (John iv. 20), and there alone, while under the new covenant every christian church is a Jerusalem, and in every place the incense and the unbloody oblation may be offered by the true worshippers (Mal. i. 11). What is termed sacerdotalism, or more accurately perhaps mediation, is characteristic of the more advanced forms of religion, as distinguished from the fetishism of uncultured races, and the patriarchal erastianism (to use a modern but convenient term) which succeeded to it. In christianity we see combined those various elements of truth which have been the savouring salt of all the religions of humanity, which have lived and influenced the life of men in virtue of the germ of truth which they contained, not of the falsehood which was the result of their purely human and subjective origin. Thus in christianity the principle of sacerdotalism is developed more widely and more completely than in judaism, just as in the mosaic system this higher element is more prominent than it was in the patriarchal religion which that supplanted.

^o It is remarkable that the altar of sacrifice (*θυσιαστήριον*, Apoc. vi. 9, *et passim*), which, in the jewish temple, stood in the centre of "the court of the israelites," open to the view of all, is in the christian church withdrawn into the innermost *sanctum sanctorum*, and in primitive times was concealed by veils from the view of the faithful. It occupies, in fact, the place, not of the mosaic altar, but of the ark of the covenant, the resting-place of the shekinah, the perpetual and visible presence of almighty God upon earth, itself a forecast and an anticipation of the incarnation, and of its sequel in the perpetual presence of the divine Victim upon our altars. Christianity is no mere copy of the judaic system; it is its amplification and fulfilment. Thus while many of the mosaic festivals have been retained, while the passover has become our Easter, and Pentecost follows as of old upon the paschal feast, and the Sabbath is observed as a day of abstinence in many parts of the west and as a feast-day in the east, the great day of Atonement, the most solemn, perhaps, of all the jewish festivals, has, very significantly, no equivalent in the christian calendar.

and these two systems have a certain significance of their own, and have further been the origin of two very different ecclesiological types, both of which have had their influence upon the structure and distribution of the churches of our own land.

The first is that which conforms most nearly to the mosaic original, namely, a veil stretched transversely across the church in front of the sanctuary. The second is that which resulted in the *baldaquino*, an arrangement of veils surrounding the altar itself upon all sides.

These two systems agree so far, that in each the altar is completely screened from view, but while, by the latter, the altar and the officiating priest alone are concealed, by the former the whole of the presbytery is secluded from view, including the *cathedra* of the bishop and the subordinate thrones of the assisting presbyters.^p

Let us consider first, the transverse veil and the arrangements which owe their origin to it, more especially in our own english churches. The simplest form of this is a veil stretched across the building upon a cord or curtain-rod. Of this every old english church, until the changes of the sixteenth century, afforded, during Lent, an example. From the evening of Ash Wednesday or of the following Saturday, until the Wednesday before Easter, the lenten veil, as it was termed (*velum quadragesimale*), was suspended in front of the sanctuary. It was only at the reading of the gospel that it was drawn aside, and so remained till the "orate fratres" of the offertory, except on festivals of the double class, when it was withdrawn for the whole day.

Thus this venerable monument of the primitive usage, deriving in unbroken succession from the sacred tabernacle in the desert of Sinai, was like many other customs of the earliest ages, preserved in Lent after it had long gone out of use at other seasons of the year.^q It disappeared, together with so many other relics of the first ages of the faith preserved in our old english rites, during the innovations of the Reformation, and is now obsolete, except in some of the monastic churches, throughout the west.^r But in many of our ancient churches the hooks by which this lenten curtain was supported may still be seen.^s The Sarum

^p The normal position of the deacon was outside the transverse veil. Such is, to this day, the case in the churches of the orthodox and other oriental communions. In the eastern liturgies a much greater proportion of the prayers assigned to the priest is said *secreto* than in the latin, and his action is, almost throughout the mass, concealed from view. While the priest is thus invisible and inaudible, the people are occupied in devotional liturgies which are led by the deacon, standing without the iconostasis. Much of the difficulty which those experience, who know the eastern liturgies only from the texts, in apprehending the continuity of the whole office, and its essential oneness in principle with the latin rite, is due to this fact, and disappears when the liturgy is studied *in action*.

^q In the same way the "mass of the pre-sanctified," which, in early times, was the rule upon all ferial days, is now used, in the western church, upon Good Friday alone. While in some of the primitive churches the eucharist was consecrated upon Sundays only, and the mass of the pre-sanctified employed upon all other days, in others this took place upon Wednesdays and Fridays also. A tradition of this was preserved in our english churches, throughout Lent, in the procession which took place upon these two ferial days, as upon the Sunday, before the high mass. The rubric of the Book of Common Prayer directing that the litany, essentially a processional office, shall be said upon these days, is a relic of the same early custom. I have observed that at Rouen, during Holy Week, all the clergy in choir, and even the choir-boys, wear hoods upon their heads, which, at other seasons, are represented only by those little withered *cuculli* which are attached to the tippets of the canons.

^r It is somewhat remarkable that this should have been the case in the west, since the transverse veil in its most pronounced form, the iconostasis, with its curtained doorways, is in use to this day throughout the orthodox communion, in the uniat churches, and among all the more or less heretical churches of eastern christendom. I have myself had the opportunity of seeing the lenten veil in use, in the cistercian abbey-church of St. Bernard on Charnwood Forest.

^s At Salisbury cathedral the winch by which the veil was raised remains, affixed to the south-eastern pier of the crossing of the lesser transept. In the quire of Arundel church, Sussex, the pulleys still exist by which

Tractatus de officiis ecclesiasticis refers to it in the following terms:—"A sabbato prime ebdomade quadragesime (the first Saturday in Lent) usque ad quartam feriam ante pascha (Wednesday in Holy week) velum quoddam dependeat in presbyterio inter chorum et altare, quod per totam quadragesimam in feriis, quando de feriis agitur, debet esse demissum, nisi dum evangelium legitur tunc enim interim extollitur et elevatum dependet^t quo-usque a sacerdote dicitur '*orate fratres.*' Et si in crastino sequatur festum novem lectionum, de cetero eo die non demittetur, nec etiam ante proximas matutinas feriales. Si tamen in ipso festo fiat missa de jegunio, demittitur velum usque ad inceptionem evangelii et non ulterius. Quarta autem feria ante pascha, dum passio domini legitur, ad prolationem ipsius clausule—'*velum templi scissum est*'—predictum velum in area presbyterii decidat."^u This tractate will be found in full in Dr. Rock's "Church of Our Fathers," vol. iv., which contains also an *ordinarium* of a cistercian house in the county of York, in which the lenten veil is thus referred to:—"Post completorium (on Ash Wednesday) cortina ante presbiterium tendatur, que sic remaneat privatis diebus per quadragesima usque ad feriam quartam ante pascha et tunc post completorium deponitur. In sabbatis vero, et in vigiliis sanctorum quando duodecim lectiones sunt, tunc retrahatur ante vespervas, et iterum in crastino post completorium remittatur a sacrista.—Item privatis diebus ad missam subdiaconus partem cortine usque abbatem modice tollat, quando subdiaconus ad altare fuerit, ut sacerdos petat benedictionem ab abbate ad evangelium legendum; quod si ministri fuerint, diaconus simili modo accedat ad medium cortine ubi sublevata est querens benedictionem ab abbate."^v

The transverse arrangement of the veil has given rise, in the next place, to the chancel-arch of the medieval churches, as distinguished from the so-called triumphal-arch of the latin basilicas. The latter is rather an architectural than a ritual feature, and the altar usually stood, not behind it, but beneath it, and often in advance of it. The chancel-arch, on the contrary (with the veil which in early times was stretched across it), resulted from purely ceremonial exigencies.

It would appear probable, as I have already observed, from the difference in height between the holy place and the holy of holies of the Solomonic temple, that something of the nature of an arch intervened, in that edifice, between the two divisions of the *adytum*, and that the ritual separation which was marked by the "veil of the temple," was further accentuated by a constructional feature of the fabric itself.

The chancel-arch, therefore, is, in its original form, more nearly allied to the jewish

the curtain cord was tightened. The hooks remain in the cathedrals of Winchester and Durham, and I have observed them in many of our unrestored old churches, as at Alfriston, Sussex, and Skirlaugh in the East Riding of York. In a "restoration," of course, they most commonly disappear, but their position may often be traced by the pieces of new stonework which their removal has necessitated. I would commend the preservation of them to the guardians of those of our ancient churches in which they still exist.

^t It was in consequence of this custom of drawing up the curtain, peculiar, as far as I am aware, to Salisbury, that the winch was required to which I have already referred. The more usual plan was to draw aside the curtain, not to raise it.

^u By this custom the derivation of the lenten veil from the mosaic rite is well brought out.

^v "Church of Our Fathers," iv. app., pp. 68, 81. The *velum quadragesimale* is frequently referred to in the decrees of english synods, as in the Winchester Synodals of 1240, in the statutes of Walter De Gray, Archbishop of York, in 1250; in the decrees of the council of York, two years later; in the statutes of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, 1281; in the Exeter Synodals of 1287; and in the decrees of the council of Merton, in 1300. See Ducange's "Glossarium," s. v. *velum quadragesimale*.

model than is the triumphal-arch of the basilican churches,^w and it is remarkable that this mode of effecting the required seclusion of the sanctuary, while it is unknown in Rome, and in those churches which are derived from the christian basilica, seems to be indigenous in these isles. As far as we can trace the ecclesiological traditions proper to the native british church, as distinguished from the customs of the christianised roman colonists, it appears that the necessary separation of the sanctuary from the body of the building was effected, in the churches of the british christians, by an arch (usually of very narrow proportions), across which the ritual veil was drawn.^x

As I have already had occasion to observe, these two types, that of the basilican arch of triumph and that of the chancel, or rather sanctuary arch, are to be seen, more or less, in conflict throughout, what is termed, the saxon period.

To a considerable extent this distinctly judaic and non-roman tradition may be observed to have had its influence upon the churches of the whole of northern Europe, and the norman conquest introduced little change in this respect, so far as regards the smaller churches. There are still in existence numbers of chancel-arches of the eleventh, twelfth, and even of the thirteenth century which, in their extreme narrowness, exhibit the influence of this non-basilican tradition, and in numbers of others the removal of the early chancel-arch, by the fifteenth-century architects, is evidence that its proportions were too contracted to satisfy the fashions of a later day.^y It must be borne in mind that these narrow arches were designed in all cases to be closed by a veil, of which the latticed screens inserted in them in later ages, and which in many cases have supplanted them, present the last tradition.^z

Our medieval parish churches, as it thus appears, derive their very characteristic type from a source distinct altogether from that to which the normal plan of our cathedral churches owes its origin, and the clear apprehension of this fact is indispensable to a proper understanding of our national ecclesiology.

Our cathedrals are derived from the basilica, in which, what is termed, the triumphal-arch has rather a structural than a ritual importance. Accordingly, in the progress of architectural advance, this feature practically disappeared. The element of the basilican model which had the greatest influence upon the cathedrals of the middle age (in our own country more particularly) was, not the triumphal-arch, but the great transept, such as we see it in the plans of the ancient vatican and ostien basilicas. In our cathedrals there is no transversal

^w In the basilica, as we shall see presently, the concealment of the altar-rites, an essential feature in all the early liturgies, was effected by an arrangement of veils which is wholly independent of the, purely constructional, arch which divides the apse from the body of the building.

^x The ecclesiological type, exhibited (1) in the Apocalypse and (2) in the earliest churches of Rome,—that to which the apsidal termination, the triumphal arch, the confessionary crypt, and the baldaquin arrangement of the veils belong—is distinctly non-judaic; that which prevailed in our own country in early times, under the influence of a christianity non-roman, and as some think pauline, displays, in its secluded and rectangular sanctuary and its transverse-veils, the influence of jewish ritual tradition. These facts conflict somewhat with the theories of M. Renan and of some other doctrinaire writers.

^y I have referred in chapter ii. (pp. 48, 49) to a few instances of these narrow chancel-arches (so characteristic of the primitive age) both in England and in Ireland. Another example occurs to me in Ovingdean church, Sussex, and a very interesting one at Hadleigh is figured in Mr. Buckler's "Twenty-two Churches of Essex," p. 84. The writer mentions two other cases in which arches of similar character (at Fryerning and at Shenfield) were removed in the later middle ages. The beautiful *traceries* chancel-arches of Stebbing and Great Bardfield, in the same county, offer examples of what is no doubt a late, and a most happy elaboration of this earlier tradition.

^z In Lenoir's "Architecture Monastique," i., p. 349, there is a view of one of these contracted sanctuary-arches with the veil half drawn across it, as still in use in the churches of Wallachia.

arch having any importance either ritual or even architectural, but there is invariably a very strongly defined transverse line, of an unmistakeable significance in both aspects, in the great transept. More than this, several of our cathedral churches, and those the most characteristic, have a second transverse line, of much importance from the ritual point of view, and, architecturally, very striking, which, again, is not a wall of separation pierced by an arch, but a second and subordinate transept.

Thus in the churches which have derived from the basilica, while the triumphal-arch has disappeared, the transept has been retained and has acquired, as time has gone on, a more predominating importance.

But in our medieval parish churches the case is widely different. The original type to which these are to be referred is not the basilica, but that model upon which the churches of the British Christians were planned, which is known to us only by the early churches of Ireland, erected under the influence of British missionaries, and by that clearly non-basilican influence which is to be detected in the churches of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.

These, as we have seen, present a distribution essentially different from that of the basilica. In them the transverse arch is no mere architectural feature, but forms the essential ritual line of partition between the nave and the sanctuary. That seclusion of the altar-area, which in the basilica is effected by the curtains of the baldachino, is in the churches of this, to our soil, native type, provided for in the structural distribution of the building itself; a wall, pierced only by a somewhat narrow arch, across which a veil is drawn, separates the two compartments of which these early churches are composed. It is to this transverse arch—quite distinct in its conception from the basilican arch of triumph—that the chancel-arches of our medieval parish churches owe their origin.

In consequence of this difference in their history, we notice that, whereas, in our cathedrals and minsters, the great transverse lines of ritual partition are marked by transepts, while all tradition of the triumphal-arch is lost, in our parish churches it is the chancel-arch which is the most striking feature of the transverse division of the building, and the transepts, where they exist at all, are usually of quite subordinate importance. As a rule they are of lesser height than the nave, and form in reality merely an expansion of the aisles. They belong, in short, to the nave, which is most commonly continued across them, and the ritual division of the building is effected, not at all by them, but by the chancel-arch eastward of them.^{aa}

It is clear that the chancel-, or more properly speaking, sanctuary-arches of our ancient parochial churches, owe their origin to that same transverse arrangement of the ceremonial veil from which the lenten curtain of the medieval rituals is also derived.^{bb}

This mode of secluding the sanctuary, which, as the most obvious, is probably also the earliest, gave rise to a feature very characteristic of the churches of the first ages. This may be described as a beam of wood, supported by a series of columns, from which the ritual

^{aa} In some cases, as at Heckington church, Lincolnshire, and Patrington in the East Riding of York, the nave is continued a bay eastward of the transepts before the chancel-arch is reached. In almost all cases in which transepts are found in our ancient parish churches, the nave runs past them comparatively unbroken, and even their roofs do not, as a rule, interfere with the continuity of the great nave-roof. Such buildings are, what is termed, "cross-churches," only *on plan*.

^{bb} At Xanten, upon the lower Rhine, in Guelderland, there remains a magnificent erection of brass of the fifteenth century, crossing the eastern limb of the church between the quire and the sanctuary. It is figured in King's "*Orfèvrerie du Moyen Age*" (ii., pl. 100). It was designed, doubtless, to support the lenten veil, and consists of an enriched beam of brass, supported by two brazen pillars, and, taking in the central span, the form of an elaborate arching of vine-boughs. There are sconces all along the top of it for tapers.

curtain might be suspended. That this was an arrangement of very early date may be concluded from the fact that, what is clearly, a somewhat advanced developement of it is found in the description left us by Eusebius^{cc} of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, erected by the emperor Constantine.

The apse of this church was, as he informs us, enclosed by a range of twelve columns (according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour), over the capitals of which, as a further adornment, were silver sconces of great size, which the emperor himself presented as a splendid offering to his God. We must, of course, conceive these columns as surmounted by an entablature either of wood, of metal, or of marble.

A confirmation of this, sufficiently obvious, conjecture is to be found in the similar arrangement of the vatican basilica, as erected by the same emperor, of which professor Willis gives the following description^{dd} :—"In front of the steps," ascending to the platform of the apse, "were placed twelve columns of Parian marble, arranged in two rows. These were of a spiral form, and decorated with sculpture of vine-leaves. Their pedestals were connected by lattice-work of metal, or by walls of marble. The entrance to the sanctuary was between the central pillars, where the cancelli, or lattices, were formed into doors. Above these columns were laid beams or entablatures, upon which were placed images, candelabra, and other decorations; and, indeed, the successive popes seem to have lavished every species of decoration in silver, gold, and marble-work upon the enclosure and the crypt below."

It is clear that the original of such an arrangement was, in the small sanctuaries of the earliest date, a simple beam reaching from wall to wall, from which the veil might be suspended. In the larger churches such a beam would naturally require the support of two or more vertical posts. Of such an arrangement the elaborate structures erected by the first christian emperor, at Jerusalem and at Rome, exhibit a very advanced type, from which we may draw the conclusion that the simpler form, from which they are derived, had existed in the first ages of christianity. I have little doubt myself, but that it was adopted from the arrangements for the support of the "veil of the temple" of Jerusalem, and dates therefore from a period prior to the destruction of that building by the emperor Titus, A.D. 70.

This appears to have been—quite in conformity with such a conjecture as to its origin—the normal oriental arrangement, as distinguished from that peculiarly latin mode of suspending the veils which eventuated in the baldaquino. From it is derived the solid iconostasis of the modern greek churches, and it is interesting to observe that those churches in the west in which this particular feature is to be found, are just those in which traces of an eastern influence might most naturally be expected. Thus St. Mark's, at Venice, and the basilica of Torcello retain to this day *trabes* of marble of this type; and as the former was not erected before the beginning of the fifteenth century, we may conclude that this, the primitive mode of enclosing the sanctuary, was customary in the east even at that late date, and that the solid iconostasis is of very modern invention. The church of the Panagia Nicodimo, at Athens,^{ee} still retains an enclosure of the same type, though upon a much smaller scale, as that which may be seen at Torcello and at St. Mark's. Two columns of green cipoline marble divide the triumphal

^{cc} "Life of Constantine," iii., 38.

^{dd} "Archit. Hist. Cant. Cath.," p. 21. He cites as his authorities—Fontana, "Il Tempio Vaticano": Roma, 1694; Ciampini, "De Sacris Edificiis a Constantino Magno constructis": Roma, 1693; Bonanni, "Templi Vaticani Historia": Roma, 1700; Costaguti e Ferrabosco, "Architettura della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano": Roma, 1684.

^{ee} Cf. Lenoir, "Archit. Monast.," i., p. 343.

arch into three intercolumniations, across the capitals of which a marble entablature is carried, from which originally were suspended the veils. In later times, a solid wall, decorated with pictures, has been erected across the two lateral intercolumniations, leaving the central one alone open.

These examples would seem to show that the iconostasis is a feature of comparatively modern date, and that the *trabes*, supported when necessary by columns, was the original form by which the sanctuary was enclosed in the oriental churches.

As from the simplest idea, that of a lateral curtain, is derived the narrow sanctuary-arches of our most characteristic saxon churches, so from this enriched beam has come, not only the greek iconostasis, but also the western rood-loft.

The other mode of giving to the altar that seclusion, which the ritual of the primitive church demanded, was that of which the baldaquino was the outcome.

Of this arrangement, the simplest form is that of four upright supports or columns, placed somewhat in advance of each of the four horns of the altar, supporting the rods from which the veils are suspended, which thus enclose, upon all sides, the altar and the celebrating priest.

How early the notion occurred of erecting upon these four angular pillars a dome-like *ciborium*^{ff} is not clear. One of the earliest examples of the baldaquin, that shown in a mosaic picture at Ravenna, executed in 451, under the exarchate of Neo, exhibits a flat wooden ceiling resting upon the columns. That of the upper church of St. Clement, at Rome, attributed, as we have already seen, to the ninth century, has a somewhat similar arrangement, but is surmounted, curiously enough, by a sort of model of a classical temple. In this example the rings from which the altar-veils were suspended still exist. St. Gregory erected (in 590) a ciborium, "ex argento puro cum columnis suis,"^{gg} in the vatican basilica, and we have accounts of similar *ciboria* erected in the churches of St. Pancras and St. Agnes by pope Honorius I. We also read^{hh} that pope Sergius I. renewed in bronze the baldaquino of the church of St. Susanna, near to the baths of Diocletian, which was originally constructed in wood, "quod ante ligneum fuerat."

A very interesting example of the baldaquin is afforded us in the mosaics, probably of the fourth century, which adorn the great dome of the circular church of St. George, at Thessalonica.ⁱⁱ In this instance the altar-veils are drawn close, and the rod from which they are suspended is very clearly shown, as well as the ascent of steps to the altar, and the carpet laid upon the same.

This building is in its design and construction essentially roman, and it is valuable as exhibiting, in Greece, the latin baldaquino. The figures which flank it represent Sts. Cosmos

^{ff} In later times each compartment of a groined vault was termed a "severy" (sometimes spelt civery). But Gervase, as professor Willis observes ("Canterbury Cathedral," p. 49), "uses 'ciborium' in this sense. Now the *ciborium* is properly the canopy of the high altar, which is supported upon four pillars, and which is usually vaulted in one compartment. Thus each compartment of a vault resembles a *ciborium*; apparently, therefore, *severy* is a corruption of *ciborium*, and is not derived from the verb 'to sever,' as might at first sight be supposed."

^{gg} Anastasius, "Vita St. Gregorii," p. 62, as referred to in Lenoir, i., p. 201.

^{hh} Anast., "Vita Sergii." Cf. Lenoir, ib.

ⁱⁱ This valuable monument is well illustrated in Texier and Pullan's "Byzantine Architecture," pp. 132-141. By the kind permission of Mr. Pullan, I am enabled to give an illustration of this mosaic, as well as of another of the same series, showing a baptistry. The enclosure of the font, no doubt of perforated marble or of bronze, is well shown, as also the many lamps with which it was customary, in early times, to adorn all parts of a church, and which may serve to explain the *λαμπάδες ἱκαναί* of Acts xx. 8.

and Damian, those on either side of the baptistry being Sts. Romanus and Eucarpion, a legionary.

The basilica of St. George in Velabro retains a ciborium of the early type, constructed, like that of St. Clement, in marble; and at Terracina, Naples, and Perugia, there are examples of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Those of the roman basilicas of St. Mary in the Trastevere, and of St. Laurence, without the walls, date from the years 1145 and 1152, while that of the church of St. Peter, at Corneto, is of the end of the twelfth century.

Of the later roman baldaquins it is unnecessary to speak, as they will be known to every reader. They have been retained as a typical feature of the latin arrangement, although the use of the curtains (which they were originally designed to support)^{jj} has long become obsolete. A tradition of their primitive intention is preserved in many of the more modern examples, by those valances of bronze with which some of them are ornamented.^{kk}

It thus appears that the transverse veil, and the beam supported by columns, of which its use gave the suggestion, was oriental in its origin, while the plan of curtaining the altar on all sides, from which the baldaquin is derived, was an arrangement peculiarly latin.^{ll}

It therefore affords an illustration of the two-fold source of our english ecclesiological traditions, on which I have so much insisted, to observe that both these types have produced their effect upon our church architecture. The one—due, no doubt, to british tradition—is exhibited, as we have seen, in the lanten curtain, in the rood-lofts of our minsters, and in the high screens of our parish churches.^{mmm} We have here a tradition rather ephesine than latin. The other, on the contrary, is distinctly roman in its origin, and it is interesting to find (as from the history we should have been led to expect) that the baldaquin was common in England in saxon times.ⁿⁿ

Dr. Rock gives two illustrations of the ciborium, from the illuminations of the benedictional of St. Æthelwold, both of them domed, in one of which the altar-veils are shown knotted round the pillars, as in some of the early mosaics of Italy. The baldaquin is spoken of in the saxon pontificals as *tegumen altaris*, and *umbraculum*. Nor is it remarkable that its use

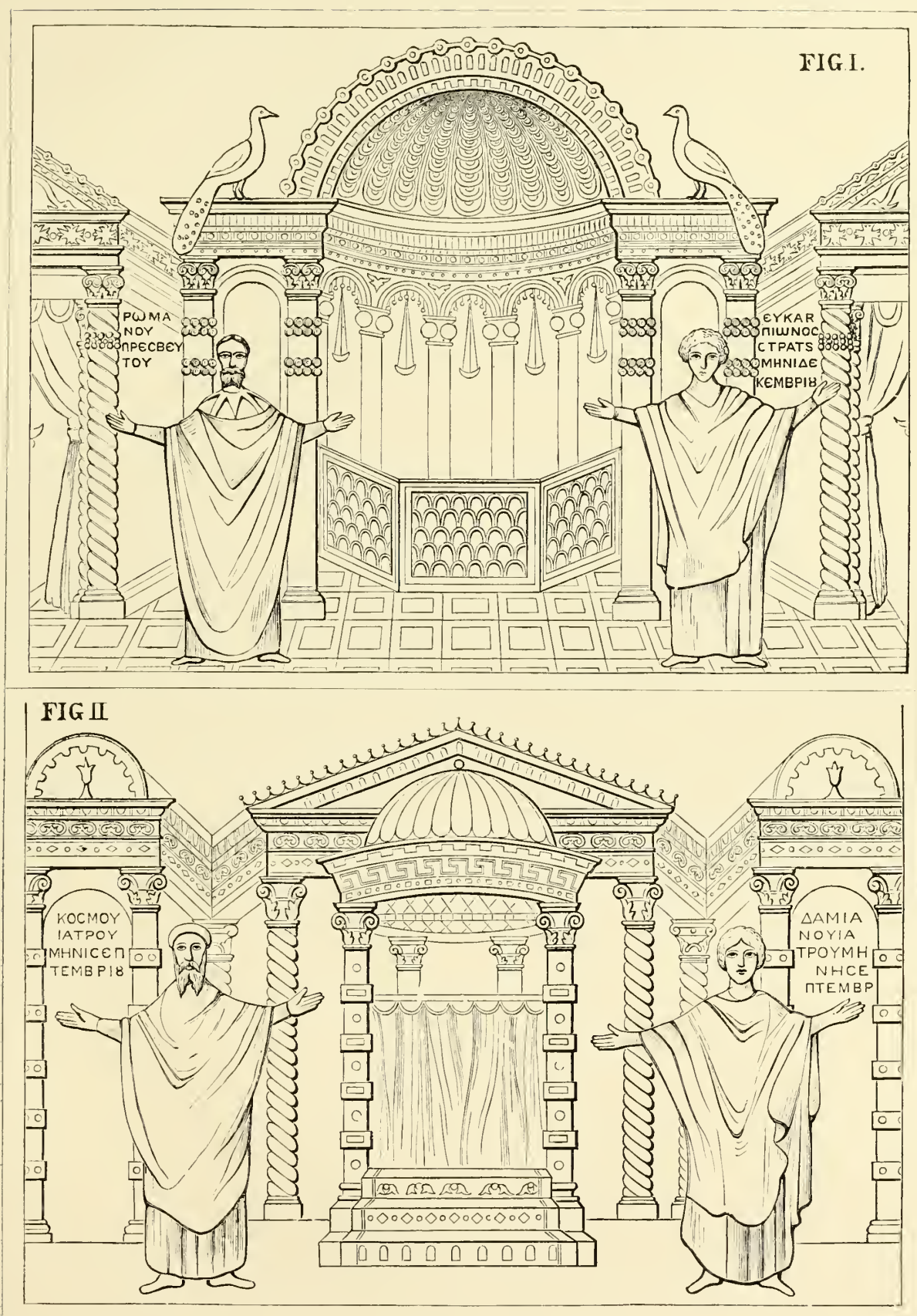
^{jj} "Fecit Sergius I." (687-701) "in circuitu altaris basilicæ tetravela octo, quatuor alba, et quatuor coccinea," an early example of the use of the papal colours, white and yellow. "In basilica etiam beati Pauli apostoli inter columnas altaris dextra lævaque vela alba constituit Johannes VII." (705-708). *Præclarus pontifex* Leo III. (795-816) "fecit in circuitu altaris beati Petri apostoli tetravela rubea holoserica alethystina." *Lib Pontif.* ed. Vignolio, i., p. 311, 317; and ii., p. 304, quoted in Dr. Rock's "Church of Our Fathers," i., p. 197.

^{kk} As in the vatican basilica and in St. Mary Major. An example, nearer home, may be seen in the italian church of St. Peter, Hatton Garden.

^{ll} The ancient St. Peter's, not without significance, exhibited both the pillared entablature, and the curtained, ciborium. The Apocalypse which, in the ritual arrangements which it suggests, exhibits the latin *confessio* appears to assume also the latin arrangement of the altar-veils.

^{mmm} Durandus speaks of three veils:—"Triplex genus veli suspenditur in ecclesia, videlicet, quod sacra operit, quod sacrarium a clero dividit, et quod clerum a populo secernit" ("Rationale," i., 3). Of the first he speaks thus:—"Sacerdos secretum intrans quasi velatur quibusdam cortinis quæ sunt in lateribus altaris" (ib., ii., 9). And again:—"Cortinæ quæ ab utroque altaris latere extenduntur sacerdote secretum intrante" (ib., i., 3). The second is the lanten curtain:—"Cortina quæ in quadragesima in officiis missæ ante altare extenditur" (ib.). Of the third he gives this account:—"Tertium inde tunc habuit originem, quia in primitiva ecclesia paribolus, id est paries qui circuit chorum, non elevatur nisi usque ad apodiacionem (quod adhuc in quibusdam ecclesiis observatur), veruntamen hoc tempore, quasi communiter, suspenditur sive interponitur velum aut murus inter clerum et populum ne mutuo se conspicerent possint" (ib.). Thus this third curtain is but a form of the choir-enclosure, which was more commonly effected in the middle ages by a solid wall.

ⁿⁿ For information upon this point I am indebted to Dr. Rock, "Church of Our Fathers," i., 193, *et seq.*



MOSAICS FROM THE CHURCH OF St. GEORGE AT THESSALONICA.

FIG. I. THE BAPTISTRY.

FIG. II. THE BALDAQUIN.

should have prevailed in these isles, when we know that it was the custom in the churches of Gaul.^{oo}

We may reasonably conclude that in those saxon churches—such as Wing and Worth—which exhibit, in the apsidal form of the eastern termination, and in the wide triumphal arch the distinctly basilican type, the baldaquin once existed, while in those whose square east-ends and narrow sanctuary-arches betray the british origin of their plan, the transverse veil was in use.

As the two traditions became fused into one in the uses of medieval England, neither mode of screening off the altar was abandoned, and in our churches of the middle ages both were to be seen in use. Although the baldaquin went out of fashion some time before the period of the norman conquest,^{pp} the veils surrounding the altar in the roman manner were still retained, alongside with the veil stretched transversely across the sanctuary, which belongs to the oriental rites. The latter came at length to be employed only in Lent, but the former was represented until the very close of our middle ages by the side-curtains which adorned every old english altar. In this late form their original intention is lost, and they exhibit but an instance of what physiologists term “survival.” But it is clear enough that these “wings,” as they are sometimes called, are merely the side-curtains of the *tetra-vela*, which once shrouded the whole altar, and we may see some indication of the transition from the one to the other. Thus, in early examples, the rods upon which these side-curtains are hung, are carried by pillars of marble,^{qa} or of metal, which are at least a tradition of the time when the veil crossed the front of the altar as well as its ends, since pillars are hardly needed to carry mere side “wings,” for which metal brackets in later times sufficed. There is a picture in the National Gallery, of the fifteenth century, of the exhumation of the body of St. Hubert,^{rr} which is interesting, as showing that in the Low Countries, even at this late date, the curtain-*rods*, at least, surrounded the altar in front as well as at its sides. The rods are of iron, supported by four pillars of brass, standing upon the lower foot-pace, at the four corners of the altar. These are terminated by angels, also of brass, bearing prickets for tapers. There are rods from pillar to pillar at each end of the altar, north and south; but what is remarkable is this, that there is also shown a rod across the front of the altar, and this, not only between the brazen pillars, but continued right across the sanctuary. The ends of this transverse rod are secured to the piers of the chevet, and it rests upon the two western pillars of the four which surround the altar.

The position of these small brazen columns is precisely that of the pillars of a baldaquin. The two eastern ones are close to the eastern horns of the altar, the two western ones stand at the western corners of the foot-pace, so that when the curtains were drawn they would enclose, as in the case of the baldaquin-veils, the altar and the celebrant, and no more.^{ss} In

^{oo} “*Super illa tria altaria habentur tria ciboria ex argento et auro paratæ, in quibus tres dependeat coronæ.*” “*Descript. Thesaur. Sti. Richarii*” (A.D. 831), quoted by Dr. Rock, as above.

^{pp} Examples of later date are, however, to be found, as in the case of the baldaquin, designed by Torregiano, which surmounted the high-altar of the lady-chapel of Westminster Abbey (referred to below), that designed by Sir Christopher Wren for the cathedral church of St. Paul in London (cf. Longman’s “*Three Cathedrals of St. Paul*,” pp. 111, 112), and one, recently “restored” away, in the church of St. Mary at Totnes, Devon.

^{qa} As in the case of those about the altar of St. Edward, in Westminster Abbey.

^{rr} A work of the dutch school, attributed to Dierick Bouts, who died in 1475.

^{ss} Great brazen candle-standards are commonly to be seen standing before the high-altars of those trans-alpine churches which have retained anything of their medieval furniture, or even of the tradition of it. I

the picture, the curtains themselves do not appear, having been removed, no doubt, for the occasion, lest they should interrupt the view of what is going on, from the eager crowd of spectators, who are craning their necks between the uprights of the surrounding screens, to see as much as they can of the operation.

Thus the sanctuary, as regards its enclosures, and its ritual distinction from the whole of the rest of the building, had retained, so far, much of its primitive character. The space between the line of the lanten-veil and the altar-area was still the "presbytery," as distinguished from the space immediately about the altar, once enclosed by the veils of the ciborium, which Durandus terms the *secretum*.

But in the arrangement of the presbytery great changes had come to be made. It had originally included the space all about the baldaquin, especially the apse, with its semi-circle of presbyterial seats^{tt} and its central throne, but it had come to occupy a position now almost wholly in front of the altar. The presbyters not engaged about the altar, now sat in stalls in the quire, and even the bishop, in the great majority of instances,^{uu} had retired from his throne behind the altar, to a seat of less dignity adjoining the stalls of his canons.

The semi-circular range of presbyterial thrones (*θρόνοι*, Apoc. iv. 4) having, through this change, become unnecessary, disappeared, with the exception of its extremities, which are represented by the *sedilia* of a medieval church. These seats for the functioning priest and his assistants were still required, and were therefore retained after the rest of the range had, owing to the retirement of the non-functioning presbyters into the quire, become unnecessary, and had accordingly disappeared. In the pagan tribunals, while the central seats were occupied by the prætor, the judices, and the advocates, the sides of the semi-circle, which were termed the *cornua*, were reserved for the parties engaged in the proceedings and for persons of distinction who might desire to be present.^{vv} It is probable that the presbyters engaged in the mass were seated in the *cornua* of the christian tribunes: that the bishop, when he himself pontificated, occupied, with his attendants, the *cornu* upon the gospel side; and that a presbyter celebrating was accustomed to be seated with his ministers in the *cornu* upon the epistle side. Hence the position, upon the north side of the sanctuary, of the throne

believe these to be derived from the baldaquino system of arranging the veils, and that they were originally pillars, and not candlesticks. They retained all through the middle ages a certain columnar character, though the function of bearing tapers—originally subordinate to that of supporting the curtain-rods—had come to be their only function. In our english cathedrals, these venerable pillars have in recent years come to be represented by monster gas-standards.

^{tt} *Sacerdos* (*lepevs*) and *Presbyterus* express, the one the function, the other the order. The connection between the two english words "priest" and "presbyter," has been sometimes taken advantage of in order to confuse, for party purposes, this radical distinction of idea. No one, however, proposes to speak of Aaron as a high presbyter, and if *priest* be not the equivalent of *lepevs* and *sacerdos*, the english language has none. The presbytery is so named because it is the proper position of those of the priestly order who are assisting (as presbyters), but are not in function (as sacerdotes). The *sacerdos* is the one presbyter in function within the altar-space (*secretum* or *sacrarium*, as distinguished from *presbyterium*). *Sacrarium* is thus defined by Ducange—"ubi sunt sancta sanctorum," "ubi est altare"; also as "pars ædis sacræ in quo sacra reponuntur"; and as, in some cases, equivalent to *diaconicum* and to *sacrista*; also as "pars altaris ubi reponitur pyxis, in qua sacra eucharistia asservatur, vulgo *tabernacle*." In this sense it occurs in the decrees of the Council of Trent. Sess. xiii., cap. vi., and Can. vii. (Oct. 1551).

^{uu} I have already noticed the retention to a late date of the basilican position of the bishop's cathedra at Canterbury and at Norwich.

^{vv} It was in the *cornu* that the emperor Tiberius sat to overawe the judgment at the trial of Granius Marcellus. Tacit., "Ann.," i., 75, referred to in Smith's "Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.," s. v. *basilica*.

of a bishop pontificating, and the *sedilia* of the celebrating priest upon the south side of the sanctuary.^{ww}

Of the *piscina*, so invariable an adjunct to the *sedilia* in this country, little need be said, as the subject is a somewhat obscure one, and its investigation would lead us into details of ceremonial with which we are not here concerned. I will only observe that the little shelf—very commonly of wood—which is to be found in most of our medieval *piscinæ*^{xx} is, virtually, their most important feature, and has, in fact, an antiquity (of origin) more unquestioned than that of the *piscina*, to which it often appears as a mere accessory. This small shelf is, in reality, the medieval equivalent of the primitive *prothesis*. This, the *mensa et propositio panum*^{yy} of the new law, constituted in the primitive basilicas, as it does to this day in the churches of the eastern communions, a veritable side-altar. Nor was this tradition of its original dignity and importance ever wholly lost, in spite of the small dimensions to which the passing fashions of the middle ages, for a time, reduced it.^{zz} We learn from the “Voyages Liturgiques” of De Mauléon (Lebrun des Marettes),^{aaa} that, as late as the year 1718, there existed in the abbey-church of Cluny, and at St. Denis, a side-altar, upon the epistle side of the high altar, which was termed the *prothesis*. When the celebrant had communicated the assistant clerics in the species of bread, the deacon, accompanied by two acolytes bearing tapers, bore the chalice to this side-altar, and here the altar-ministers were communicated in the cup.

Until toward the close of the fourteenth century, in spite of the alterations which I have described, the high-altar continued to exhibit the primitive type. It was still of considerable depth (from east to west), and stood free and unencumbered in the centre of the sanctuary. This was the case even with side-altars: until far on into the middle ages they were still somewhat square on plan, and placed detached from the eastern walls of their chapels.^{bbb}

The essential notion of the basilican altar—that of a table as distinguished from a side-board—has ever been preserved at Rome, but in our own country it was gradually lost sight of amid the innovations of that middle age, so fertile of change—for better as for worse—and so audacious.

The sanctuary of an english minster of the early thirteenth century had still about it much of the character of the primitive bema. It was an open area flanked by the *sedilia*, and dominated still, as of old, by the exalted *cathedra* of the bishop, upon the centre of its eastern side. In the midst, upon its own ascent of steps, stood the altar, still somewhat square in its pro-

^{ww} In some instances, as in Durham cathedral, the derivation of the *sedilia* from the *cornua* of the basilican tribune, is the more clear from the fact of these canopied seats occurring upon both sides of the sanctuary.

^{xx} It is wanting only in those *piscinæ* which are large enough to allow space for the cruets and napkins to lie upon the slab in which the basins themselves are formed.

^{yy} Heb. ix. 2; Ex. xxv. 23.

^{zz} There is, I think, reason to believe that the withered little *protheses* of our medieval *piscinas* were only used at low mass, and that at the high mass either a movable table, adorned with a linen cloth and two tapers, or in some cases a side-altar, served as the credence. The latter is, as I have already had occasion to observe, the custom still observed in the coronation of our sovereigns. (Cf. *supra*, p. 54.)

^{aaa} p. 149, quoted in Viollet-le-Duc's “Dict. Raisonné de l'Archit.,” vii., p. 191.

^{bbb} The apsidal chapels of the lesser transept at Lincoln, the northern chapel of the apse at Norwich, and the eastern chapels at Worcester are instances in point. In the last-named church, as in many other examples, the wall-arcades are returned unbroken across the eastern walls of the chapels.

portions, ample in its dimensions, and severely plain.^{ccc} The crucifix and tapers required by the ritual were placed directly upon the *mensa*.^{ddd} The raised ledge upon which the candlesticks are now most commonly arranged, and which is sometimes, but improperly termed, "the super-altar,"^{eee} is an invention of later times, and somewhat foreign to the primitive idea. But this simple type was destined to undergo a complete modification, due to two distinct causes.

Hitherto the bodies of the saints had continued to rest in those crypts beneath the sanctuary-level to which the custom of primitive days had consigned them. But a sort of "resurrection of relics" was now in progress. These honoured remains were first raised from their resting-places in the *confessio*, to be laid upon the floor of the sanctuary, or beneath the *mensa* of the altar. As the middle ages went on a new conception was reached. The relics were now dissociated from the great altar, beneath which they had heretofore reposed; they were placed in rear of an altar of their own, standing eastward of the high altar, and were elevated upon a lofty feretory of stone or marble, so that their shrines should be conspicuous above the heads of the clergy engaged in the celebration of the high mass. Relics of less importance were placed in reliquaries upon the altar itself, and other shrines were elevated still higher, alongside the crucifix, or the "majesty," upon the beam which it was now the custom to erect above the high altar, and of which we have already seen examples at Canterbury and at Westminster.^{fff}

It had also become customary to place upon the altar *retabula*—panels, commonly of timber-work, sculptured, painted, or covered by plates of silver, or even of gold, enriched with gems and precious stones. In these retables, of which examples may still be seen at West-

^{ccc} The enriched and sculptured altars of the later middle ages are inconsistent with the spirit of the ritual, and exhibit a certain frivolity, unworthy of the awe-ful character which attaches to the christian sacrifice. The altar-front was at all times adorned by costly hangings, termed *paramenta*, during the celebration of the mass, but it was felt, until a late period, that the altar itself was too serious a thing to be trifled with, and in its grim simplicity it long continued to recall the tradition of its sinaitic original (Ex. xx. 25). In a revival, excellences are less easily copied than errors. It was therefore to be expected that these exceptional trivialities of more modern times should commend themselves, as they have done, to the modern revivers of medieval forms. But altars which require to be veiled in violet, in order to conceal their misplaced enrichments upon the day on which, in token of its mourning, the Church orders the altars to be stripped bare, are scarcely in accord with the Church's intention.

^{ddd} As is to this day the custom in the vatican basilica, in most of the ancient churches of Rome, and in all those of the oriental communions.

^{eee} "Super-altare" is, of course, the small consecrated altar-slab employed in cases in which the altar itself has not been blessed. There is a circular sinking for the reception of such a super-altar in the *mensa* of the altar in the chapel of the Pyx, at Westminster. Such a super-altar, rectangular in form, is preserved in the chapel founded by bishop Alcock in Ely cathedral. It is now built into the east wall of the chapel, and bears, in addition to the usual five crosses, the following inscription—"Johannes Alcock Eps Elien. hanc fabryc am fieri fecit. MCCCCLXXXVIII."

^{fff} This curious change in the position assigned to the bodies of the saints has a somewhat grotesque parallel in the "resurrection of effigies" to be traced during the course of medieval and modern times. In the earliest monumental figures the hands are crossed upon the breast, and the attitude is that of death-like rest. Then, though this quiet slumber is still unruffled, there are signs as of a half-consciousness, and the hands are joined in prayer. The knight reposing upon his tomb becomes aware of his lady lying by his side, and, half in tenderness, half in sleep, he lays his hand in hers. But the hour of waking is at hand, the stony figures turn upon their sides, they raise themselves slowly upon an elbow, and gaze, still somewhat drowsily, about them. Ere long they rise, now fully awakened, and pose upon their knees in prayer; soon, grown weary of the pious posture, they seat themselves in curule chairs, with a cold *sic sedebat*. At the last, clad in toga, or in breeches, as the case may be, they stand erect upon their feet, and marshal armies or harangue senates, in all the affected realism of the stage.

minster, at Norwich, and at Romsey,^{gss} we have the origin of the reredos of the later middle ages, and of the altar-piece of more recent times.

We can hardly quarrel with an innovation which has given occasion to the erection, in each succeeding style, of such exquisite works of art, but it is very necessary to realise it as an innovation, and as one which has contributed more than any other to modify the primitive character of the altar and of the sanctuary.

The noblest outcome of the retable was undoubtedly the triptych. This is simply an enlarged and elaborated *retabulum*, to which shutters have been added, for the better protection of its imagery, and for its concealment during the penitential seasons. It is upon the latter account that the painting of the exterior of the shutters is commonly in grisaille. Nothing can be finer than the effect of sombre gloom when all the altar-pieces are thus closed, and the magnificent outburst of gold and colour, when, upon the morning of some festival day, sunlight, as it were, breaks out from every altar, as the shutters swing open. A violet veil is but a very poor substitute for this truly artistic arrangement, which I take to be one of the happiest and most original conceptions of the middle ages. If the baldachin be the noblest adornment of a basilican bema, the triptych is the crowning glory of a sanctuary of the medieval type. There is this further merit in the triptych, that, like the *retabulum*, of which it is an expansion, it is essentially a movable piece of furniture, and in no way interferes with that detached and table-like character of the altar, which is in accordance with early traditions, and with the spirit of the ritual.^{hhh}

That triptychs were once not uncommon in this country we know from accounts which have been preserved to us of the furniture of our ancient churches. I have already quoted, from the "Rites of Durham," a description of one which stood upon the Jesus altar in the nave of that cathedral church (*supra*, p. 135). Another in the church of Long Melford, in Suffolk, is thus described by one, who had seen itⁱⁱⁱ:—"At the back of the high-altar there was a goodly mount, made of one great tree, and set up to the foot of the window there, carved very artificially with the Story of Christ's passion; representing the horsemen with their swords, and the footmen, etc., as they used Christ on the Mount of Calvary, all being fair gilt, and lively and beautifully set forth. To cover and keep clean all the which, there were very fair and painted boards, made to shut to, which were opened upon high and solemn Feast days, which then was a very beautiful show."

The *retabulum*, in conjunction with the beam fixed above the altar and its super-imposed imagery, gave rise, however, to a much more serious innovation upon primitive usages.

Toward the close of the fourteenth century it occurred to our architects to replace all

^{gss} The altar-piece of the Premonstratensian abbey of Dale is described in the inventory as "a table of wood paynted." ("Journ. of Derbyshire Archæol. Soc.," i., p. 104.)

^{hhh} Thus the high-altar at Xanten, which is adorned by a sumptuous triptych of renaissance character, is a perfectly plain mass of masonry standing free in the centre of the sanctuary, with a *mensa* 12 ft. by 7 ft. That at Calcar, in the same district, is of the same character; its *mensa* is 10 ft. 4 in. by 6 ft. 10 in. These proportions are quite basilican (though the altars are in fact of the fifteenth century), and the moulding of the *mensa* is continued at the back as well as at the front and sides. The candlesticks, too, stand upon the altar itself, as in primitive times. Even side-altars, bearing triptychs, are commonly as much as 4 ft. in width from front to back, and sometimes more.

ⁱⁱⁱ Viz., Roger Martyn, of Melford Place, who was churchwarden of the parish in the reign of Philip and Mary, and who remained a catholic until his death (at the age of 89), in 1615. The whole description is full of interest, and gives a very delightful picture of provincial life in, what was then, merry England. It is reprinted in Sir William Parker's "History of Long Melford" (Wyman and Sons, 1873), p. 70, *et seq.* I am indebted for this reference to the courtesy of the present rector of Melford, the Rev. Charles T. Martyn.

these by a lofty wall of stone, extending from side to side of the sanctuary, enriched with niches and statuary. Of this bold novelty the earliest example of which I am aware is that at Christchurch, Hants. In this very interesting work the subject of the genealogy of our Lord, commonly known as the "Tree of Jesse," is introduced with great originality.

The reredos of All Souls' chapel, Oxford, is an example of similar treatment, though here applied upon a solid wall. The college was founded as a thank-offering for the victory of Azincourt, and in order that the souls of all, of either nation, who met their death on that battle-field might be perpetually remembered before God. The reredos, as may be seen now in its restoration, occupied the whole eastern end of the chapel (there is no east window), and contained fifty statues of large size, and eighty-six statuettes. Over the altar was a very beautiful crucifix, with the Magdalen at its foot. Over this was the image of the Blessed Virgin, and above her St. Editha, on whose day the chapel was consecrated (in 1442). Above all was represented our Lord, presiding in the final doom. Among the other figures were those of the four latin fathers, in whose honour the chapel is dedicated, together with those of cardinal Beaufort, and of other contemporary worthies of church and state.^{jjj}

The altar-piece of St. Alban's abbey, erected by abbat William Wallingford (1476-1492), is another magnificent specimen,^{kkk} which is only equalled by the altar-screen of Winchester cathedral: each of these was once adorned by an immense crucifix of silver, a tradition, no doubt, of a similar effigy standing upon the beam which originally occupied the position where now stand these sumptuous reredos-walls. Less lofty in proportion but not less elegant is the reredos of Durham cathedral. Like the others, it has been despoiled of all its sculpture, and is now but a fair frame without a picture. It is thus described, as it appeared in its former beauty, in the "Rites"^{lll} :—

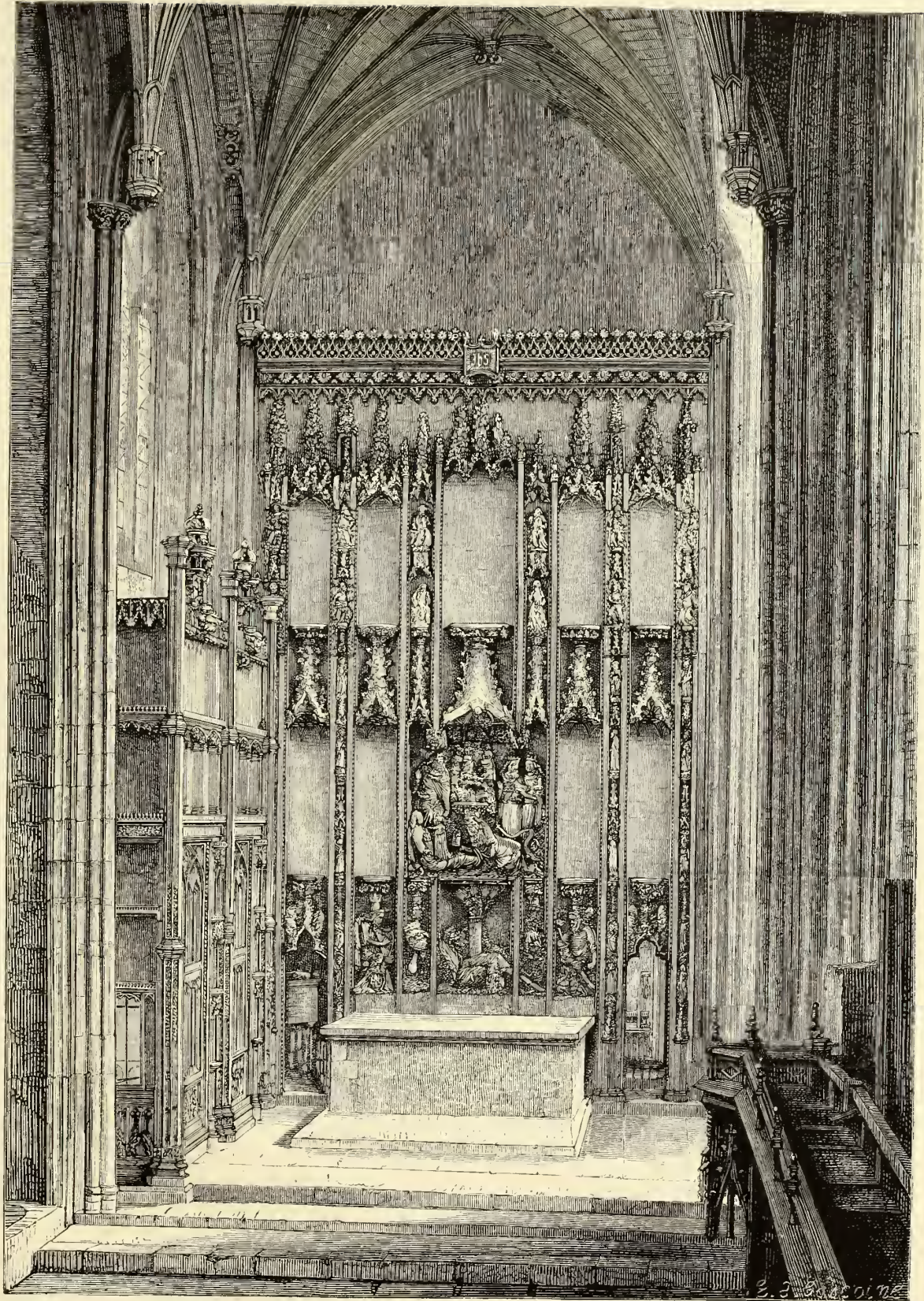
"Betwixt the High Altar and St. Cuthbert's Feriture is all of French peere, verye curiously wrought, both of the inside and outside, with faire images of alabaster, being most finely gilted, beinge called in the ancient history the Laordose, the said curious workmanshipp of French peere or laordose reachinge in hight almost to the middle vault, and containinge the breadth of the Quire in lengthe, in the midst whereof, right over the said Hie Altar were artificially placed, in very fine alabaster, the picture of Our Lady standinge in the midst, and the picture of St. Cuthbert on the one side, and the picture of St. Oswald on the other, being all richly gilted, and at either end of the said altar was a wande of iron fastened in the wall, whereon did hang curtaines or hangings of white silk dayly.

"The dayly ornaments that were hunge both before the altar and above were of red velvett, wrought with great flowers of gold in imbroydered worke, with many goodly pictures, besides

^{jjj} In 1549, the year in which the first Prayer Book of Edward replaced the Breviary and Missal, the royal Commissioners ordered the destruction of this incomparable work. "This portion of the injunctions," says Professor Burrows ("Worthies of All Souls," p. 68), "was most completely, not to say ruthlessly executed. The magnificent reredos was now defaced. Every one of its statues was thrown down and broken to pieces, while the projecting portions of the structure were chipped away till the whole was left a ruin." The Commissioners ordered further the removal of all "altars, images, statues, tabernacles, the things they call organs, and all similar monuments of superstition and idolatry." Those works of religious art which had escaped the Commissioners of 1549, archbishop Parker, as visitor of the college, was at considerable pains to get destroyed, and the account of his correspondence with the Warden, given in Professor Burrows' book (p. 86), is instructive and curious. All the church plate in possession of the college, with the exception of some ten pieces, is ordered by him to be "defaced and broken," and by a later order, "all copes, vestments, albs, missals, books, and crosses" are to be "utterly defaced."

^{kkk} Cf. p. 146.

^{lll} p. 6.



CHRISTCHURCH, HANTS.
ALTAR-PIECE IN THE PRIORY-CHURCH.

beinge verye finely gilted, but the ornaments for the Principall Feast, which was the Assumption of our Lady, were all of white damaske, all besett with pearles and pretious stones, which made the ornaments more rich and gorgeous to behold."

The reredos of Westminster abbey was another instance of a similar erection ; of this the back alone (facing towards the saint's chapel) is preserved. The front having been stripped of its imagery and otherwise injured, was, in the time of Queen Anne, further mutilated, in order to make room for an altar-piece of marble. When this was removed, in 1820,^{mmm} during the preparations for the coronation of George IV., "it was discovered," says Neale,ⁿⁿⁿ "that the west front of the screen was wrought in a similar style of sculpture to the east front, many remnants of sculptural ornament, including various pieces of a painted and gilt cornice, fragments of gilt foliage, etc., were found among the rubbish. The whole screen, indeed, had been richly embellished with gilding and painting ; the ground was, generally, either of a red or azure colour, but had been covered with whitewash." We may, from this, form some notion of its original magnificence. Above it was, as I have already had occasion to mention, a great rood, with St. Mary and John and two cherubim standing upon a beam. Upon the top of the screen were figures of Sts. Peter and Paul.

Another very fine example still exists, though deprived, of course, of its imagery, in the church of St. Mary Overie, in Southwark.

Most of these reredos-walls retain an indication of their derivation from the *retabulum* in the plain oblong panel formed in them immediately above the altar itself, and in all of them a tradition of the originally detached character of the altar is preserved in the doors by which they are pierced, in order to allow of the circum-ambulation at the asperges and the incensing.

In the erection of structures such as these, almost all trace of the arrangements of the basilican *bema* disappeared. The part of the sanctuary beyond the altar, once the station of the bishop and the attendant presbyters, had long ceased to form the presbytery, and had become, what the confessional-crypt had originally been, the resting-place of the relics of the patron-saints. These remains, once laid in the *confessio* beneath the altar, had been raised upon an elevated *feretrum* to the eastward of it, and now a solid wall of stone shut off the shrine of the saint from the high-altar, which had once been his *memoria*.

This new fashion had lasted little more than a century before the reformation-storm swept away both shrine and altar. It is strange that so short-lived an innovation should have seemed worthy of revival after three centuries have passed away. Yet it is to these enriched walls, cutting off the saints' chapel from the sanctuary and the presbytery, that the reredos (so much in vogue at the present day) is derived. And it is to these that we owe the change which has converted the altar, so to speak, from a table into a side-board.

The northern nations, and our own country in particular, exhibit in their ecclesiological history a tolerance of novelty and a disregard of tradition, which is in striking contrast with the conservatism of primitive usage at Rome itself.

There the customs of the early ages still live, less changed than in any other church. No modern reredos or retabulum encumbers the altar of the vatican basilica. It stands free in the centre of the vast edifice. Above it rises still the baldaquino, though the veils it once supported have disappeared. "Under the altar" still lies the body of the foremost among "them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held."^{ooo}

^{mmm} It was re-erected in Burnham church, by Bridgwater. (Cf. Rutter's "Somersetshire," 1829, p. 90.)

ⁿⁿⁿ "Westminster Abbey," ii., p. 271.

^{ooo} Apoc. vi. 9.

The pontiff celebrating still faces, as of old, towards the east and towards the people. He still, as in the first ages, presents the blessed sacrament (as he elevates it) to north and south and east and west, to the presbyters behind him as to the faithful all around. In the apse still rises the *cathedra petri*. From this venerable chair the Pontiff descends as of old to offer the sacrifice, and to it he returns to be communicated in the cup, in the manner practised in the early ages. In the papal mass at St. Peter's the ritual of the early church may still be studied in action.

In the trans-montane churches the changes effected during the middle ages have left their mark. Many such have been retained, while many more have died away, nor is it perhaps desirable to attempt the revival of these obsolete novelties:

One other innovation I may notice in conclusion. It is, in a sense, a small one, but it has been pregnant of mischief. I refer to the introduction, during the fifteenth century, of fixed sittings, or pews.

The very notion of sittings—indeed of sitting, as in any way a recognised attitude of the laity, as anything more, in short, than a concession tardily extorted from the Church by successful sloth—is of late date. The early Church knew nothing of sitting, except as the position of those who bore rule in the congregation.

Thus, to this day, the bishop sits upon his throne, the clergy have their seats of dignity and command in the quire, the preacher (in Italy, as once everywhere) sits; but the laity, when not kneeling, are bound, except as a concession to a somewhat emasculate weakness, to stand. The naves of the primitive churches had no seats. The eastern churches at the present day allow of none. The ladies of the oriental communions may sit, if too weak to stand, but it is on the pavement only that they are allowed to seat themselves.

In those of the western churches which have preserved the ancient customs, long *priediens* are provided here and there, for convenience of kneeling, but chairs are an accommodation which it is permitted to the churchwardens to provide, but for which the weak-kneed of the laity have to pay. Not even a chair is allowed in the vatican basilica. The reason why one has to pay a small fraction of a penny for the convenience of a chair in a french church is because its use is regarded as a mere concession to weakness, which the Church rather winks at than approves.

It was not until the fifteenth century that the sitting posture received a formal recognition, by the introduction of oak pewing, often of a very beautiful character, into the naves of our churches.

One can hardly quarrel with benches so elegant; still it is necessary to note that they constitute an innovation upon primitive usage, and one which gave origin, in process of time, to that great abuse, the private pew.

In the medieval nave-seats we may observe a peculiar feature, of which the rubrics appear to afford the explanation. In the sarum rite prostration was in common use. Thus during the *preces*, which are said on ferial days at all the "hour-services," the choir remained prostrate: so too at mass, on every ferial day, out of easter-tide, from after the *sanctus* until the *agnus dei*. On rising from such prostration it was the custom to kiss, if not the ground, at least the bench-seat—"osculare terram aut formulam."^{PPP}

It is this, the old english mode of prostration, that has given rise, as I suspect, to that ledge

^{PPP} Cf. "Sarum Consuetudinary," cap. xviii. "Missale ad usum Sarum," Burntisland Ed., i., p. 133.

which we find along the back of every ancient pew. These are sometimes mistaken for book-boards, sometimes for kneelers. They are in reality neither the one nor the other : they are, when not level with the seat-board, always higher than it, and therefore too high for kneeling, while they are too low for book-rests, even if books had been as common in the fifteenth century as now. Their real use would seem to be to render possible the osculation directed by the sarum and allied rituals. As long as forms without backs were in use, it was easy to kiss the seat-board in front of you. When advancing effeminacy required backs to be added to the benches, this became impossible, and first a narrow strip of the seat-board was left behind the back to serve this purpose, and next a ledge was introduced, higher than the seat-level, to render the act of humiliation still less irksome. It is, doubtless, on account of this english custom of prostration that the space between the seats in our ancient churches is so great.

CHAPTER V.

IN the last chapter the history of the progress of our medieval architecture was carried down to the commencement of the fourteenth century.

This epoch, like that of the preceding and—as we presently shall see—of the two following centuries, is marked by a transition.

The former date is that of the transition, *par excellence*: of the genesis, in fact, of the pointed style of architecture. The latter coincide in the same rough way, the one with the appearance of the so-called perpendicular manner, the other with that of its latest variety, for want of a better name, termed the tudor. In each case, oddly enough, the transition is seen to commence some twenty or twenty-five years before the centenary.

Thus at Canterbury, William of Sens began his great work, in which pointed architecture made its first essay here, in 1175. The concentration of the attention of our architects upon the lines—as opposed to the form of the openings—of the window traceries, of which the following style was but the logical outcome, gave its character to the architecture of the last quarter of the thirteenth century.^a The year 1380 marks pretty accurately the advent of the third-pointed style, and 1480 is, as we shall see, the date at which the vaulting of King's College chapel in Cambridge was designed, a work in which the principles of the newest, and last, phase of gothic architecture were, for the first time, displayed upon an important scale.

All periods of architectural transition are distinguished, as I have already had occasion to note, by a very high order of merit observable in the works executed under the stimulus of the novel idea. The period, at which we are now arrived, is no exception to the rule.

The buildings, which exemplify the style, which—for want of a better name—has somewhere been defined as the early-late-middle-pointed, display an amazing originality of design, in which vigour and delicacy are combined, in a manner as rare as it is attractive.

To realise this it is only necessary to compare the eastern portions of St. Alban's abbey, the chapter-house, and the chapel of the bishop's palace, at Wells, the chapter-house at Southwell, or the quire at Winchelsea, with the somewhat dull

geometrical architecture of Salisbury, or of the nave of Lichfield on the one hand, and with the elegant but uninteresting flowing-decorated of the middle of the fourteenth century upon the other.

With all their merits—and at the present day we are not in a position to condemn the least able of the productions of our forefathers—the perfected styles are wanting in the expression of a certain fine quality of intellect, which is to be found only in the works of those men of genius, whose originality was to break up an established commonplace.

Although in the first use of the pointed arch, and in the working out of its earlier results, the french architects were slightly in advance of our own, we find, now that we are arrived at the middle period of the style, the relative position of the two nations to be reversed.

During the extraordinary and brilliant progress, which characterised the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries; in the keen race in which, so to speak, the two countries were engaged, France has generally a small advantage. This was the case, probably, only with the comparatively small royal domain of which Paris was the centre, and the lead there taken was only a lead, yet it is one which cannot be questioned.

Before the close of the thirteenth century, however, the position is changed. We now find our own architects not only taking the lead, but adopting a course of their own, and one which is so able and so original that, from this point, we seem to have parted company with France entirely, and to have followed a course peculiar to ourselves.

From a little before the commencement of the fourteenth century, down to the renaissance of classical architecture in the sixteenth, the history of english art was determined entirely by ourselves. It appears to me that, during this period, we may fairly be said to have owed nothing to foreign influence, but to have followed freely our own inspirations, and to have worked out logically our own conceptions.

In the thirteenth century we followed France in our architecture: in the sixteenth we commenced to go to Italy for our art: but, between these two periods, english architects and artists relied simply upon themselves, and the result justified their self-confidence.

A comparison of the dates of french and english examples, from the close of the thirteenth to the

^a We see the new principle fully established in St. Etheldreda's, Holborn, and in the quire of Winchelsea, both erected before the end of the century.

middle of the fourteenth century, enables us to judge very closely the point at which we began to take from France the lead, which hitherto she had maintained. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the english school had parted company altogether with the french, now distanced in the race, and had entered upon a course divergent and wholly original.

In the process by which, from the system of grouped lancets, geometrical tracery was gradually evolved, the french examples, upon the whole, rule a trifle earlier than the english;^b but in the next stage the case is different.

The fourteenth century is characterised, in both countries, by the gradual change from geometrical tracery to flowing, with all the alteration of treatment and of æsthetic effect which that advance brought with it, but this great innovation was originated by english architects.

There is absolutely nothing in France to be set beside the truly charming works of our earlier fourteenth century. That subtle softening-off of the geometrical manner, which gives such a tenderness to the transitional works in England; that exquisite refinement, which would be feminine, were not the heart of it so essentially virile; these are peculiarly our own.

The architects of France continued to advance in the science and engineering of architecture, but their advance was intellectual rather than emotional. Their works had, by this time, lost that expression of tenderness which is never wanting in the earlier examples of the french pointed style. There is a hardness about them, which impresses one as with a sense of cruelty, and which is in striking contrast with the almost plaintive beauty of our own contemporary architecture.

This difference in the expression of the two styles is indeed observable all along, but it had become, at the period at which we are now arrived, most marked.

Compare, in this regard, the Sainte Chapelle of St. Louis with the work of our own Henry III. at Westminster, the eastern portions of St. Ouen (at Rouen) with the presbytery of St. Alban's, or with the Lady-chapel of Ely. What power verging to hardness in the one! what tenderness in all the stately grace of the other!

Mr. William Morris has well pointed out, in words which I will venture to quote,^c the sympathy that there is between this strain of homely pathos, which breathes through all our english architecture, and the character of our english country scenery; between these works of man and the soil out of which they seem to grow:—

"The land is a little land, sirs, too much shut up within the narrow seas, as it seems, to have much space for swelling into hugeness: there are no great

wastes overwhelming in their dreariness, no great solitudes of forests, no terrible untrodden mountain-walls: all is measured, mingled, varied, gliding easily one thing into another: little rivers, little plains, swelling speedily-changing uplands, all beset with handsome orderly trees: little hills, little mountains netted over with the walls of sheep-walks: all is little, yet not foolish or blank, but serious rather, and abundant of meaning for such as choose to seek it: it is neither prison nor palace, but a decent home.

"All which I neither praise nor blame, but say that so it is; some people praise this homeliness overmuch, as if the land were the very axle-tree of the world; so do not I, nor any unblinded by pride in themselves and all that belongs to them: others there are who scorn it and the tameness of it; not I any the more: though it would indeed be hard if there were nothing else in the world, no wonders, no terrors, no unspeakable beauties: yet when we think what a small part of the world's history past, present, and to come is this land we live in, and how much smaller still in the history of the arts, and yet how our forefathers clung to it, and with what care and pains they adorned it, this unromantic, uneventful-looking land of England, surely by this, too, our hearts may be touched and our hope quickened.

"For as was the land, such was the art of it, while folk yet troubled themselves about such things; it strove little to impress people either by pomp or ingenuity: not unseldom it fell into commonplace, rarely it rose into majesty; yet was it never oppressive, never a slave's nightmare or an insolent boast: and at its best it had an inventiveness, an individuality that grander styles have never overpassed: its best, too, and that was in its very heart, was given as freely to the yeoman's house and the humble village church, as to the lord's palace or the mighty cathedral: never coarse, though often rude enough, sweet, natural, and unaffected, an art of peasants rather than of merchant-princes or courtiers, it must be a hard heart I think that does not love it, whether a man has been born among it like ourselves, or has come wonderingly on its simplicity from all the grandeur over seas."

True of all the phases of our native art, these noble words apply with an especial and peculiar force to the works of our fourteenth-century builders.

In France geometrical tracery seems to have run on at least to the middle of the century unchanged, save that the style became more and more attenuated and liney, and the patterns of the tracerics more delicate and involved. But by this time in England we had effected a complete revolution in our architecture, and had produced that flowing middle-pointed style which is, to my mind, one of the great glories of our country's art.

The history of the origin of the french flamboyant style is somewhat puzzling at first sight,

^b I may refer on this subject to my father's remarks in the "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," p. 18, and to his "Lectures," i., p. 162.

^c "The Decorative Arts: an Address delivered before the Trades' Guild of Learning" (Ellis and White, 1878), p. 20.

because, as far as I have observed, there are to be found in France almost no transitional examples connecting it with the geometrical style which it supplanted.^d

I suspect that, during the fourteenth century, there was much less church building in that country than was going on, at this period, in England, and the political state of the country may account for the absence of intermediate examples.

My own impression is, that the french architects, enamoured of their elegant geometrical style—to which they were constantly giving an additional refinement of detail—occupied, far more than our own, in the advance of figure sculpture and the carving of natural foliage—continued to adhere to the earlier forms, for some time after our own artists had developed them into a newer phase.

The circumstances are somewhat parallel to those which occurred in Germany a century earlier.

The german architects of the thirteenth century, devoted to their own highly-developed romanesque, resisted for long the introduction of the new french mode; yet, when they had once accepted it, they developed it rapidly into an exaggeration of the borrowed style. So was it with the french builders of the fourteenth century.

These very able artists were, for a long while, loth to give up their refined geometrical style and to adopt its logical outcome, the flowing tracery: but when the advance could no more be ignored, and they were forced to accept, from the English, this new element, they seized upon the principle with characteristic ardour; and exaggerating that regard of the tracery-lines over the tracery-openings, which is the essence of our own middle-pointed style, they worked it out into that complete subordination of the one to the other, which distinguishes the flamboyant manner.^e

The constant effort of our own fourteenth-century architects was to obtain continuity of line in their window traceries, without losing sight, altogether, of the form of the tracery openings. And they succeeded in carrying out this conception to the farthest limit of which it is capable.

It is difficult to select examples where all are of a high order of merit, but the style which produced

St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster,^f the lady-chapel of St. Alban's, and the still more magnificent one at Ely, needs no written panegyric.

Almost every county of England possesses notable monuments of this phase of art, whose productiveness was equal to its merit.

Among its less-known works I will select for remark Tideswell church, in the High Peak of Derbyshire. This church, from its situation little known, is, upon many accounts, a very typical example. It is upon a fairly large scale, its nave being twenty-six feet in the clear, and thirty-four feet to the wall-plate. It has transepts of that subordinate type which is peculiar to England, and of which, as we have seen, the origin is to be traced to anglo-saxon, if not to still earlier times.

The chancel is in many ways remarkable. It is of the same width as the nave, and is over sixty feet in length. The side windows, which are of unusual dignity, being upwards of fifteen feet from cill to springing, are of three lights, and though quite geometrical in their design, are square-headed.

The notion—which prevails very widely—that square-headed windows are only to be found in perpendicular work, is a mere blunder. There are numerous instances of the employment of this form, in the ecclesiastical architecture of much earlier times. Thus, the chapel adjoining the Leicester hospital, at Warwick, has square-headed windows of the thirteenth century. The churches of Nunburnholme and of Driffild, in the east riding of Yorkshire, and the chapel of Haddon hall, in Derbyshire, are, like Tideswell chancel, examples of the employment of this form by the architects of the decorated period.

The east window is a composition of great magnificence. It is completely "flowing" in design, although in the treatment of its detail it exhibits—as do the side windows of the chancel—a certain reminiscence of the "soffit-cusping" so characteristic of the early geometrical period. This indication of an early date, together with others which will be obvious to any architect upon the spot, show it to be a work of transitional character, and it is thus a very characteristic specimen of the earliest phase of the flowing style.

The internal effect of the chancel is very noble. The ascent to the sanctuary is managed with unusual dignity. The high-altar stood at a considerable distance in advance of the east wall,^g backed by a solid and plain reredos wall, of the same early date as the chancel itself, and extending from side to side of it. This wall is pierced as usual by two doorways, above each of which rises a niche of excellent design. It is crowned by an horizontal cornice, in the centre of which, upon the *eastern* side of the wall, there is worked a small corbel. I

^d The only intermediate example that I have observed is the church of St. Urban at Troyes, a building in every way remarkable.

^e The flamboyant style is distinguished from our own flowing-decorated, not only by the peculiar character of its mouldings, but also by the curious fact that its tracery-openings are almost always cusped into a bi-foil shape, while the english architects almost invariably employ the quatrefoil. I cannot help observing here that the beauty of these wonderful french works is being systematically destroyed by the process, now in vogue throughout France, of *painting* the joints of the internal masonry in black or grey. This is as though one were to out-line upon an antique statue (say, the Venus of the Capitol) the forms of the sub-cutaneous muscles. I can only account for this barbarous fashion by supposing that the sketches of M. Viollet-le-Duc are taken as the standard of beauty, and as these do not resemble the old work, the old work is to be made to resemble them.

^f Now known to us, excepting its crypt, only by drawings.

^g The high-altar of the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, originally stood fourteen feet from the east wall. (Cf. "King's College Chapel: Notes on its History and Present Condition," by my friend Mr. T. J. P. Carter, p. 83.)

have little doubt but that this was designed to carry the monstrance, in which the Eucharist is exposed for veneration, and if so, it is an interesting and (as far as I am aware) unique monument of the exposition of the B. Sacrament, as practised in our ancient churches.

I have already spoken of the magnificent reredos walls, which form the most conspicuous adornment of the sanctuary in so many of our great monastic churches. We here find the same feature, though of a simpler type, in a parochial chancel. Another example of this plainer form of the great medieval innovation, the reredos, is to be seen in the chancel of Arundel church, in Sussex. Indications of similar walls having once existed are not uncommon in our old churches.^h

In the centre of the chancel is an altar tomb, with which there is associated a very singular story, which I will not pass over, though it does not properly concern our subject. It commemorates Sir Sampson Meverell, who died in 1462, and of whom the epitaph states that he had been "capitayne of diverse worshipfull places in France," and that being in the service of the duke of Bedford, "he was at xi great battayles in France within the space of two yeaeres." The sides of the tomb are open, and within it lies the figure of an emaciated corpse, wrapped in its winding-sheet. The top is formed by a slab of marble, into which are inlaid at the four corners brass plates, bearing the symbols of the evangelists. The centre is occupied by a larger plate, oval in form, in which, within a label bearing the inscription, "Ego sum alpha et omega primus et novissimus," is a representation of the B. Trinity.

Now comes the interesting part of the history. Upon the marble slab, thus inlaid, there are cut the five crosses of a consecrated altar-mensa. That these are of a later date than the brass inlays—that the slab, in fact, is not a desecrated mensa worked up into an altar-tomb—is clear both from the rudeness of their execution, and, still more obviously, from the fact that the central cross does not occupy the centre of the slab, as it would naturally do. The centre is taken up, as I have already described, by the representation in brass of the Holy Trinity, and the cross which should naturally have been engraved in the middle of the mensa is placed, unsymmetrically, at a little distance from the central inlaid plate. Thus the crosses, indicative of consecration, were cut, *after* the erection of the slab, as the cover of an altar-tomb. This is a sufficiently curious fact, and becomes the more so from the circumstance that upon this slab—half-monument, half-altar—the parish clerk of the church has been accustomed, from time out of mind, to place every Sunday morning two brass candlesticks.ⁱ

^h I have observed such in the chancels of Meopham, in Kent, and Sawley, in Derbyshire.

ⁱ As curious an instance this of what physiologists term "survival" as are the bells, that in so many village churches still ring, morning, noon, and night, the *angelus*, which no

Now in this chancel lies buried Robert Pursglove, who died, vicar of the parish, in 1579. This worthy—like the more famous vicar of Bray, by Maidenhead, in later times—knew how to accommodate himself to circumstances. He was prior of Gisburn, in Cleveland, and provost of the collegiate church of Rotherham, in Yorkshire, both of which he resigned, in consideration of a pension, to Henry the Eighth's commissioners.^j In Edward the Sixth's reign he became suffragan bishop of Hull. Under queen Mary he became again a catholic, and a protestant upon the accession of her sister. With an inconsistency, however, truly english, while he accepted the living of Tideswell, he declined to function as a bishop. Upon his monument, however, he is figured in the full episcopal habit, such as he may have worn in Mary's reign, but certainly did not wear when first raised to the episcopacy by Edward VI. He is represented as vested in almuce, apparelled alb and amice, stole, tunic, chasuble, gloves, and mitre, and with the crozier resting upon his left shoulder. The date of this effigy is, as I have said, 1579, and the protestant vicar, thus figured as a catholic pontiff, lies beside the great captain of a century earlier, upon whose monumental slab are engraved, so strangely, the insignia of a catholic altar.

May not the inconsistency of character to which Pursglove's monument bears witness, afford an explanation of the consecration crosses incised upon the tomb of Meverell?

The rubric of Elizabeth's prayer-book ordered the priest to stand upon the north side of the table, which at "the communion time" was to "stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel." Now here, in Tideswell chancel, Pursglove, half-protestant as he was, and half-catholic, found an altar-like tomb, placed just as the new rubric^k required, and yet an erection of stone, capped by a marble slab, such as were the catholic altars. If he was a bishop, he was—jurisdiction apart—competent to the consecration of an altar-slab. Is it not likely enough that this half-hearted man, who would wear the vestments of catholicism while he was living on a benefice which protestantism had appropriated,

one in the parish knows how to recite, even if he would; still chime at eight on Sunday morning for the last of the low-masses (of which all careful christians attended one before assisting at the high-mass), though the eucharist may have ceased to be celebrated at all on most Sundays; and still ring, after the finish of the "morning service," (which has taken the place of the high-mass), for the "sluggard's mass" (*messe des paresseux*), the one low-mass which was said, after the great mass was over, as the last chance of those who, though lazy, were not wholly lost to a sense of their duty. This is now very commonly considered to be "the sunday dinner bell." Week by week the bells in many a village steeple enter an unconscious and unregarded protest against what is going on in the church below them.

^j I owe him an especial and private grudge, because the college of Rotherham had been founded only fifty years before by a collateral ancestor of our family, Thomas Scot, alias Rotherham, archbishop of York, and founder, besides, of the university schools at Cambridge.

^k The rubric was first imposed by Edward VI., in 1552, and was revived by Elizabeth's government in 1559.

may have gone through the catholic form of the consecration of an altar over this slab, placed so conveniently for one who had, *nolens volens*, to conform to the prescriptions of the new rubric with respect to the position of the communion-table? The candlesticks still placed upon the tomb of Sir Sampson Meverell may be another relic of Pursglove's convenient want of logic.

All this, however, is by the way: I have ventured to introduce it as interesting in itself, and in order to relieve the monotony of a purely antiquarian investigation.

Tideswell church may serve as a typical illustration of what our fourteenth-century architects could do. The later examples of the style are more elegant, possibly, but not so able as its earlier efforts. Varieties were invented during the course of the century, but until its later years, no new principle was evolved.

About the year 1380, however, commenced an artistic movement—a transition full of interest—which produced a distinctly new style, that which is known as the perpendicular, or third-pointed, manner.

It is customary to include under this term the whole of the works executed between this date and the overthrow of the gothic school in the sixteenth century. But the later variety of the perpendicular manner—popularly known as the “tudor”—differs from its predecessor, in kind rather than in degree. Not only new forms, but new principles of construction were introduced, almost as radically different from those which prevailed in the earlier phase of the so-called perpendicular style, as these were distinct from the methods of the preceding flowing style. The later variety deserves, in fact, the honour of a numerical distinction, and might fairly be entitled the fourth-pointed.

It would have obtained this recognition, but for the accident that the attention of the first investigators of the subject—Rickman and others—was concentrated upon the form of the window-traceries, to the neglect of other elements of at least an equal importance.

The interest which in earlier times attached to the design of tracery, began, about the middle of the fifteenth century, to flag. As a consequence of this, no new forms made their appearance, and the architects of the fourth-pointed period were content generally to continue the employment of those which the third-pointed builders had invented. It is this that has prevented the recognition of the latest variety of the english gothic as, in reality, a new style.

Gothic architecture has three main elements which determine the character of the style as a whole, and distinguish, by their modifications, its several varieties—the arch, the vault, and the window. The flamboyant of France is admittedly a distinct style, yet while it revolutionised window-tracery, it left the arch and the vaulting unchanged, except in their detail.

The architects who originated the “tudor” manner, although they left the window-traceries unchanged, yet produced a perfectly new principle of vault-building—the fan-groin, together with a novel freedom in the treatment of the arch.

As arching and vaulting are more important architectural elements than the mere pattern of the window-opening, the “tudor” manner is even more distinctly a new style, and stands more completely apart from that which preceded it, than does the flamboyant of the continent.

It is important to observe that both the third, and as I have ventured to term it, the fourth-pointed, are peculiar to our own country. France, which had originated both the gothic style and the second-pointed manner, never advanced further than this. It is to our own architects that the credit belongs, of having worked out the full capabilities of gothic architecture, and to them alone. It was they who carried it out to its utmost logical consequences, and who invented two distinct styles, unknown upon the continent, in which the possibilities of the pointed manner were finally exhausted.

We are now concerned with the history of the production of the first of these, what is known as the perpendicular.

The change, to which this new manner owed its origin, was determined by two causes. Of these, the first was distinctly a reaction.

Men had become, in the course of time, dissatisfied with the elegance which it had been, for a century, the aim of the architects to attain. Every refinement of curve, every subtlety of line, that ingenuity could devise or taste adorn, had been adopted and perfected, until there seemed no possibility of a further grace.

As a natural consequence the very sweetness of the style began at length to cloy, and a reaction in favour of a return toward severity set in.

Attention had been directed to the beauty of the tracery-lines for so long that the subject, at last, had become wearisome, and now, once again, the thoughts of the architects became directed to the forms of the tracery-openings.

It is interesting and curious to note this, the first, check which the progress of gothic architecture had received.

Up to the end of the fourteenth century the advance of the style had been uniform and unbroken. Each step taken flowed on, as the logical result and outcome of the previous ones—“bound each to each by natural piety.” We now find for the first time in the history a check, a reaction. It had come to be felt that the very luxury of the style was becoming its bane.

The logical progress of the flowing style was now complete, saving one step. It was left to the french and german designers to take that step, and to carry on the principle of continuity to its complete outcome, in the luxuriant exaggeration of the flamboyant.

The english architects, less logical, but with a keener artistic sense, refused to follow them in their extreme course. The result was a reaction.

To this change the progress of the art of stained glass again,—as had been the case under somewhat similar circumstances in the preceding century,—very materially contributed.

We have seen that the tendency, even of the early advances of this art, was in the direction of giving an increased prominence to the figure-work, over the merely ornamental portions of the design. This tendency became still more pronounced as the style advanced. Now it will easily be seen that the forms of flowing tracery are singularly unsuited to the introduction of figures.

As long as the glass-artists were content to fill the openings of the tracery with merely ornamental work, glass-painting and architecture worked harmoniously together, and nothing can exceed the beauty of the results so attained. The stained glass of the middle of the fourteenth century forms, with the traceries which support it, a unity of effect which is quite charming, and which leaves nothing to be desired.

But art can never stand still. The glass-painters, proud of their increasing skill in figure-drawing, became discontented with the large proportion of mere ornamental glazing which the flowing style necessitated, and they felt desirous of introducing, in the traceries themselves, the same abundance of figure-work which they had learned so well to employ in the lights below.

Figures demand simple upright openings. Nothing was better for the purpose of the artists than the panel-like openings of the lights themselves, and the idea not unnaturally occurred, to repeat in the tracery, upon a smaller scale, the same form of opening which was found so manageable in the window-lights.

Any form of opening which has upright sides is preferable, for the purposes of the glass-painter, to those formed by flowing curves, and it is to this fact that the origin of perpendicular tracery may be, in a great part, ascribed.

It is to this, rather than to a desire of greater continuity, that we may attribute that tendency towards vertical lines which is seen in so many of the later examples of the decorated window.

Thus two distinct causes combined, as is so often the case, toward the same result. On the one hand, the influence of the glass-painters : on the other, a reaction from the excessive grace and sweetness of the advanced style in favour of a treatment of greater severity, and of one in which the window-openings should, again, be regarded as of more importance than the lines of the tracery-bars.

Thus was evolved one great element of the third-pointed style. But there are others equally important which must not be overlooked.

Of these the first to be noted is the invention of

a new form of arch, that which is termed the *four-centred*.

The origin of this peculiar, but most convenient, form of arching is to be found in a refinement introduced at an early period of the decorated style.

The monotony of curve of the pure pointed arch began very soon to pall, and two modes were devised for varying its crudeness.

The one was the introduction, towards its apex, of a reversed curve, giving the form which is known as the ogee. This is in itself a four-centred arch, but two of the centres are placed *above* the apices of the main curves.

The other variation introduced was more subtle. The upper portion of the pointed arch was described from centres placed *below* the springing line. This refinement was at first introduced, only at the extreme apex of the arch, and it gave a peculiar sweetness to the line, while it tended to strengthen the arch at its weakest point. In this form it may be detected, as I think, in the crossing arches of Tintern Abbey—a work of the latter half of the thirteenth century.

All through the fourteenth century this system was very commonly employed, and it gives a characteristic delicacy of effect, which in modern reproductions of the style is always wanting. The ordinary four-centred arch of the perpendicular period is nothing but an expansion of this idea.

In the earliest forms of the perpendicular, such as we see it in the nave of Winchester Cathedral, the arches are still acutely pointed, although their four-centred character is very pronounced. What are called depressed arches belong to the later phase of the style.

In the original form of the four-centred arch the lower curves would still, if continued, form a pointed arch—though of a proportion very much below the equilateral—and thus the relation of the new curve to the simple pointed arch, from which it took its origin, is not lost sight of.

But in the later varieties of the style the original form is entirely obscured. The lower curves of the depressed arch—which is characteristic of the fourth-pointed manner—would sometimes form a semi-circle if completed, but in many cases these curves, if produced, would not meet at all, their radii being less than one quarter of the width of the arch.

Even then the general form of the arch remains decidedly pointed, as long as the centres of the upper portion are kept well apart. It is only when the centres of the upper curves are brought very near to each other, or are described from centres considerably below the springing line of the arch, that the so-called “depressed form” is produced, and this is characteristic, generally speaking, of that later variety of the perpendicular manner, which constitutes, in fact, a distinct style.

In doorways, however, and suchlike openings the obvious convenience of the “depressed arch” led to its adoption at a very early date, as it had led to the use of segmental arches for such posi-

tions in the thirteenth century, and of ogee arches in the fourteenth.

What is to be condemned in the use of the four-centred arch is not the idea itself, but the use of its "depressed form" in positions—such as pier-arches—in which, while no convenience is served, the bearing strength of the arch is weakened, and that continuity of arch and jamb, which is of the essence of the later gothic, is interrupted by the abruptness of the arch-curves.

Of the perfected perpendicular manner the examples are abundant and well-known. If I had to name one as pre-eminent, where all are admirable, I should be tempted perhaps to select the quire and lady-chapel of Gloucester. Yet the romantic beauty of this noble work is matched, though it cannot be surpassed, by the stately elegance of the eastern portion of York minster. I prefer, however, as an illustration, a less-known, but in its way not less perfect work, the quire of Christchurch priory (of Austin canons), in Hampshire.

This example is peculiarly interesting from its retaining, in a fairly complete state, its ritual fittings.^m I have already illustrated the noble altarpiece which decorates its eastern extremity. The quire retains its rood-loft, its stalls, with their continuous canopies, and the nobly-arranged ascent of steps by which the sanctuary was gained. To the north of what was once the high-altar is the beautiful chantry-chapel erected by the mother of cardinal Pole, Margaret, countess of Salisbury, whose execution, when nearly seventy years of age, disgraced even Henry VIII.

Thus our fifteenth century architects had introduced innovations, of the most original character, in two of the leading elements of all medieval architecture—the window and the arch. In the one they had reverted to the earlier principle of regarding the form of the opening, as of more importance than the lines of the enclosing tracery bars. In the other they had developed an entirely new form of arch, more elastic even than the pointed.

Just as the pointed arch is superior to the round arch, in the fact that, unlike its simple predecessor, it can adapt itself—upon a fixed base—to any desired height above a certain limit, so the four-centred arch is superior to the pointed arch of two curves—in its greater elasticity and in the greater range of artistic expression which it most certainly affords.

The pointed arch, for example, cannot—except by assuming the awkward segmental form—adapt itself to the case in which the possible rise is only one-half the span or less. From something a little

higher than the proportions of the semicircle it is perfectly free, but below this point it cannot fall.

The four-centred arch is absolutely unfettered. Without losing anything of the freedom upwards of the pointed curve, it can also depress itself to the nearest possible approximation to the horizontal line, and still retain its pointed contour.

Mathematically the ellipse is the freest of all the curves which the architect can avail himself of, but it is unfortunately always ungraceful. The four-centred arch has all the freedom of the ellipse, with an æsthetic refinement of line which mere mathematical precision never can give.

The third, and perhaps the most influential of all the elements of gothic architecture is the groined vault. To the completeness of the innovation effected by the architects of the perpendicular period one thing was still wanting—a new treatment of stone vaulting.

This the artists of the third-pointed gothic did not attempt. They had revolutionised the window traceries, but they left the vault alone. And if we consider the advanced stage at which rib-groining had arrived in the latter half of the fourteenth century, it may well have seemed impossible that any new principle should have remained to be discovered.

The logic of the art demanded a new form of groin as soon as the perpendicular reaction had set in, but it was reserved for the inventors of the fourth-pointed style to supply it.

Of this, the latest phase of our medieval architecture, to which our attention is now to be directed, the most important feature is undoubtedly the fan-groin.

The history of this invention is exceedingly interesting, and it is curiously parallel to the change by which the luxurious flowing-tracery was converted into the severe and rigid perpendicular.

The principles of rib-groining, established by the architects of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had remained virtually unchanged during the progress of the decorated style.

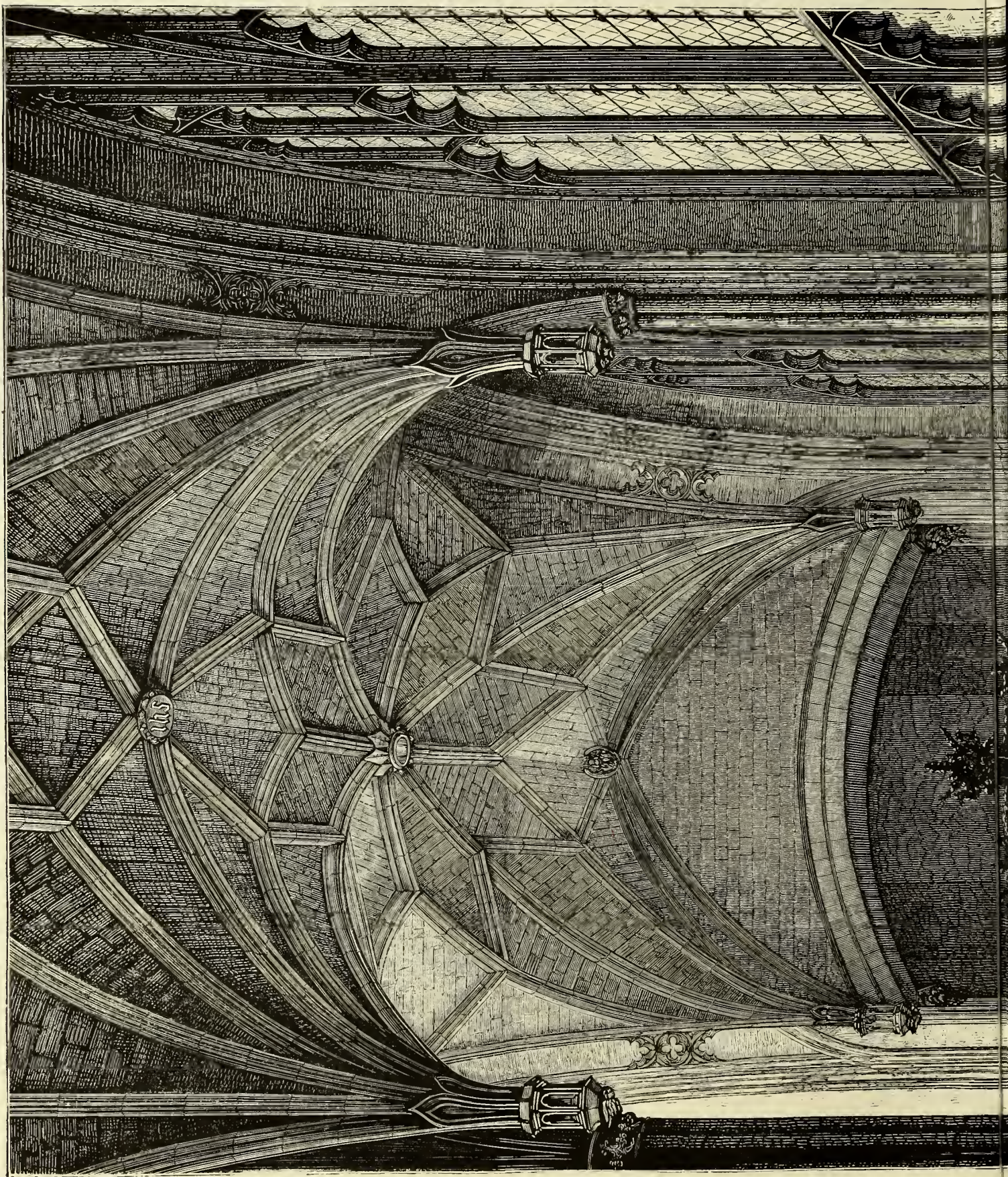
In France these principles were never abandoned, and they continued in that country, to the very end of the style, unchanged. The english architects, however, had thrown themselves into the problem of vaulting with a thoroughness which the french builders never attained.

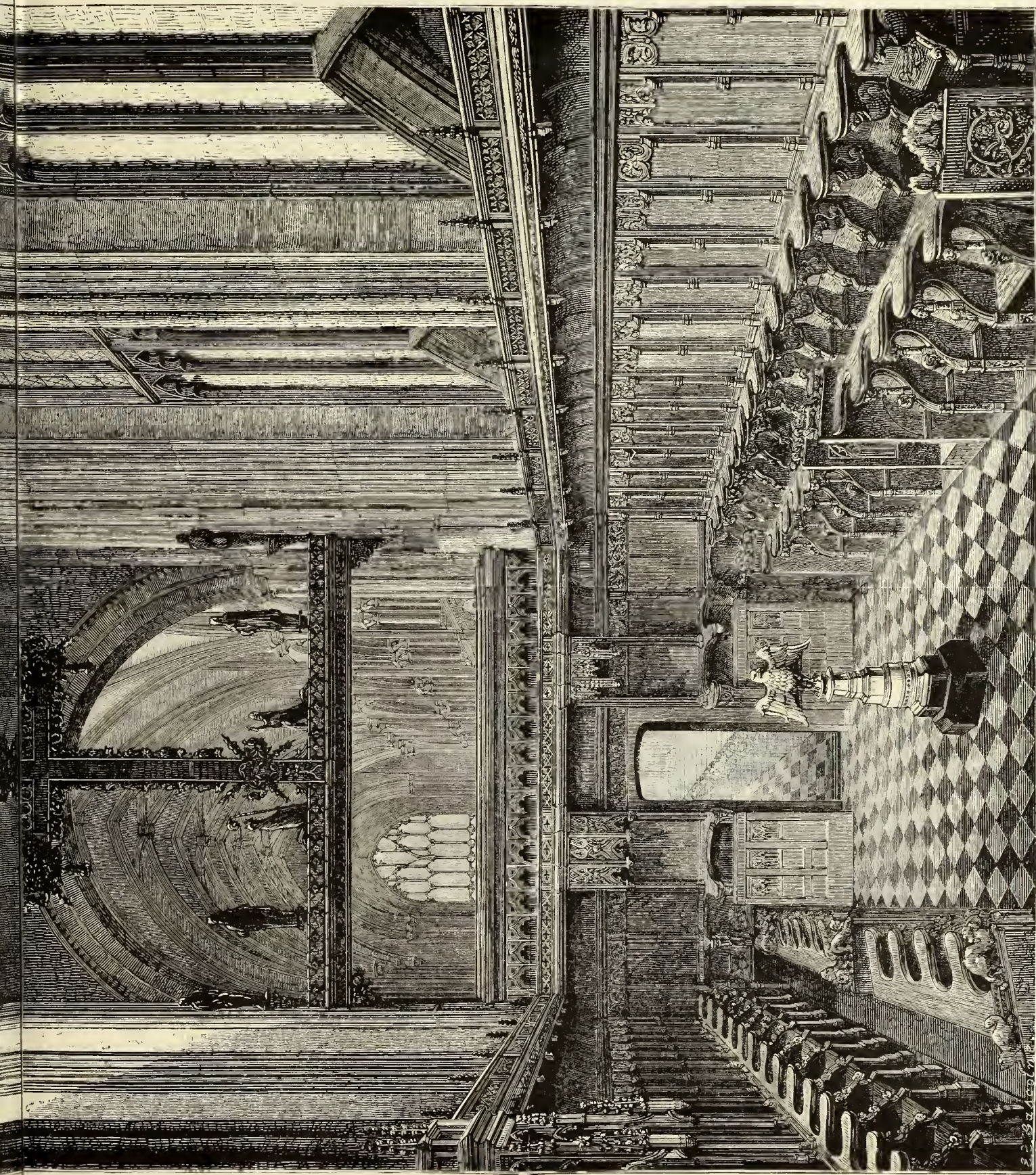
One, comparatively small, difference between the methods of the two nations is significant of the superior grasp which our own architects had got of the real heart of the matter. Given vault-ribs, our architects saw that the practically best mode of constructing the stone vaults, lying between the ribs, was to place the beds of the filling-in at right angles to a centre line drawn equi-distant from each of the diverging ribs. By this means the weight of the stone spandrels was made to bear equally upon each of the ribs.

At this obvious improvement the French never, to the latest period of gothic architecture, arrived.

^l There occurs in the porch of Skirlaugh church, in the east riding of York, an arch of the "depressed" form, whose mouldings are thoroughly decorated in character, and which was probably erected before the close of the fourteenth century.

^m In the view which I give the rood-beam, rood, and cantor's lectern are supplied in order to give a more complete notion of a fifteenth-century collegiate quire.





CHRISTCHURCH, HANTS.
INTERNAL VIEW OF THE QUIRE OF THE PRIORY-CHURCH, LOOKING WEST.

They continued to construct their vaults with courses parallel to the ridge line, just as had been done by the Romans and by the romanesque architects, before rib-groining had been invented. They never properly realized—as our architects had done at a very early period of the style—the complete revolution in the principles of the construction of vaults which the introduction of ribs had effected.

We showed ourselves, in this matter, more logical and more systematic than the French.

Owing to this unreasonable adherence to the old manner of constructing vaults, the french architects never properly developed the system of rib-groining.

To the end of the middle ages they continued to use only transverse, and diagonal ribs,—the old quadripartite arrangement.

But in England we had begun very early to introduce ribs, intermediate between the diagonals and the transverse, or wall-rib. From this followed, of necessity, the use of a *ridge rib*—a feature almost never seen in french work, but most common in England, and a necessary condition of the use of *intermediate* ribs, which would otherwise have nothing upon which to abut.ⁿ

In admitting these intermediate ribs, admission was given, virtually, to a new principle.

These intermediates answered no practical purpose: they did not, like the diagonal rib, serve to strengthen the lines of intersection of the vault: they were brought in simply for artistic effect.

This step having been taken, the notion at once occurred to break up the surfaces of the vault still more by the introduction of cross-ribs (termed *liernes*). These—with the bosses which occupied the points of their contact and intersection with the main ribs—formed a perfect network of beautifully designed forms, and carried out, upon the surface of the vaults, that elegance of line and beauty of intricacy, which was exhibited at the same time in the window traceries, so characteristic of the flowing style.^o

In the developement of rib-groining, as in most of the steps of the later varieties of gothic, the English showed a thoroughness, a logical consistency, and an artistic power, which leaves the French quite behind.

From the very fact that they had first—and

indeed alone—expanded the capabilities of the rib-groining, the English were the first—and indeed the only—architects of the middle ages, who advanced beyond it.

They, alone of all the architectural schools of Europe, produced, out of the gothic groin, an entirely new form of vaulting.

It is interesting to observe that the very same principle which determined the conversion of the flowing tracery into the perpendicular, determined also, later on, the developement of fan-vaulting out of the *lierne* groining of the fourteenth century.

We have seen that one of the elements in that change of architectural view, by which romanesque became converted into pointed architecture, was the transference of the attention of the architects, from the surfaces of the vault, to the lines given by the intersection of the groins. The process was now to be reversed.

For nearly two centuries architects had been looking to the ribs, and caring nothing for the surfaces. They had multiplied ribs in every direction, until no further intricacy remained to be achieved. But in the height of the elaboration of this idea, the very excess to which it was being pushed effected—by the strangest reaction—its own overthrow.

The ribs of the groining had become multiplied until almost no surface of the vault was left, when—all at once—it was felt that the ribs themselves suggested a surface, and that, one of a wholly new contour.

Thus the very multiplicity of the ribs came to suggest, to the mind of the architects, that attention to the surface of the vault, which for two centuries had been in abeyance.

This movement—like that which produced the new form of tracery—although in principle a reaction towards the old, was in reality the discovery of the new.

Perpendicular tracery is as unlike the plate-tracery of the early thirteenth century, as fan-vaulting is unlike the unribbed romanesque groin. Yet the very early and the very late form of tracery have in common the great principle of regarding the form of the piercing, rather than the lines of the tracery bar: and the early and late forms of vaulting, similarly, have this in common, that the contour of the vault surface is the governing element in the design of both.

To the casual observer it may seem that a fan-vault, such as that of King's College chapel, does not differ essentially from one of the elaborate groinings of the fourteenth century, where intermediate and *lierne* ribs are multiplied till almost no surface is left. But the resemblance between the two is in reality quite superficial, although, as a matter of fact, the one grew out of the other.

The proper way to realise a fan-groin is, to view it, not as a system of ribs, but as an arrangement of sunk panels or coffers. The ribs are such, only in appearance. You could not construct a four-

ⁿ The gradual introduction of ridge and intermediate ribs may be studied with advantage at Westminster abbey-church. Here the aisles and chapels of the apse, and also the aisles of the transepts—the portions first vaulted in—have no ridge-ribs. The eastern limb and the transepts have longitudinal ridge-ribs only, while the vaulting over the five bays of the quire proper has, in addition to these, transverse ridge-ribs and intermediates also. The latter is known to be the work of Edward I.

^o Bosses are a necessity of *lierne*-vaulting, on this account, that it is mathematically impossible for the mouldings of the intersecting ribs of such a vault to form true intersections, or—as they are termed—*mitres*. The perfect nebula of bosses to be admired in the vaults of Gloucester or of Norwich, is—not a mere decorative enrichment—but a necessity imposed by the adoption of a constructional principle.

teenth century groining without ribs, but you could perfectly well build a fan-vault, unrelieved by any tracery. The apparent ribs which are applied upon the surface of a fan-vault are merely decorative, and serve no practical purpose whatever. The vault would be equally strong in construction, and equally perfect mathematically, if all the ribs and tracteries on it—instead of being sunk out of the solid stone—were merely *painted* upon it, like the famous ceiling of Milan Cathedral.

Of all the possible forms of groining, the fan-vault is the most mathematical, and the most elastic. Every curve in it may be as correct in execution, as it is in the theory, and it is capable of being applied to any plan, however irregular.

Fan-vaulting may be regarded as the converse of the dome: a dome is described, of course, by the revolution of a circular curve upon its vertical radius: the fan-vault is formed by a circular curve revolved upon its vertical tangent. Four such curves are, of course, required to form a cell of quadrangular plan.

It is quite possible to construct such a groin without the use of the four-centred arch. The diagonal section of the vault may be a semicircle or an obtusely-pointed arch of two curves. But in practice the four-centred arch is much more convenient, since it leaves the architect free to design his wall-arches in any proportion that he may please, and, at the same time, to raise the centre of the vault at his pleasure, little or much above the crowns of the enclosing arches.

The invention of this form of groin was virtually the creation of a new style of architecture, and this invention must have been the work of one man of genius. The thought by which, out of the tangled multiplicity of the lierne vault, a new, simple, coldly mathematical idea was arrived at—an idea by which there was substituted, for a vault requiring any possible number of ribs, one which is, essentially, ribless—by which, out of the extravagant line-iness of the fourteenth-century groining was produced, as in some scenic transformation, a vault as line-less (in its conception) as the dome—must have been the thought of some one human brain.

The elaboration, into a many-sided perfection, of a new and pregnant idea, is the work of many minds,—of a generation,—of a people,—but the production of a new simplicity out of an existing multiplicity is the prerogative of individual genius.

It is impossible to ascertain who was the inventor of the fan-vault, owing to the uncertainty which prevails as to the precise date of its introduction.

The cloisters at Gloucester are commonly instanced as the earliest known example,^p and these are of the beginning of the fifteenth century, but it is quite clear to my mind that the groins themselves are much later than the wall-ribs and

springers. These are designed, as it appears to me, for a lierne vault. Upon their completion the cloister—as was the constant practice during the middle ages—was roofed in, and the vault itself was not executed, as I believe, till many years later, and then upon a principle unknown when the work was commenced.^q

Perhaps the earliest example of this new form of groining, of which the date, within certain limits, is known, is the chapel, once of St. Benedict, but afterwards that of our Lady, in Canterbury cathedral.

It is recorded, in the obituary records, that prior Goldston (1449-1468) “built, on the north side of the church, a chapel in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, in which he was buried. He completely finished this chapel with a stone vault of a most artificial construction.”^r

The groining thus described is still in existence, and is of the fan-vaulted type.

We possess, however, in “the great church of the college royal of St. Mary and St. Nicholas” at Cambridge, a very conspicuous example of the innovation which produced, what I have termed, the fourth-pointed style of gothic architecture:

The fan-vault of this church is certainly not the earliest example of the new manner. On the contrary, it is known to have been ordered as late as 1512, but it is not only the grandest and the purest specimen of the fan-vault that we possess, but it is one of which we are able to fix with exactness the date, not only of its execution, but—what is of more importance—of its design.

This noble church is too well known to need description, but there are several points about the building and its history to which I propose to refer, for this reason, that they serve to illustrate the invention of the fourth-pointed style.

The foundation-stone was laid by Henry VI. in person upon St. James’ day (July 25), 1446,^s but the high-altar was not put up until 1545, the last year of Henry VIII.’s reign.^t

The work was not, however, continued uninterruptedly all these years. There are three distinct periods during which the work was actively pressed forward, separated by long intervals during which little or nothing was done.

^q We must remember that the springers of vaults were always built “in block,” and were worked into the required forms upon the completion of the groining, often many years subsequent to their erection.

^r Willis’s “Canterbury,” p. 123.

^s It was laid beneath the spot intended for the high-altar. A contemporary epigram states:—

“Altaris petram quam rex superedificavit
Henricus sextus his sacrificando dicavit.
In festo santi Jacobi sanctam stabilivit
Hic unctam petram regia sacra manus.
Ex orientali medio si bis septem peditim
Mensurare velis invenies lapidem.”

(Cf. Carter’s “King’s College Chapel,” p. 9.)

Several examples of medieval foundation-stones are figured in Lenoir, “Archit. Monast.,” i., pp. 40-44.

^t Carter’s “King’s College Chapel,” p. 52.

^p As by my father, upon the authority of professor Willis, in his “Lectures,” ii., p. 219.

For sixteen years (1446 to 1462) from the commencement the works went on uninterruptedly, but in the latter year, as a consequence of the accession of Edward IV., they came to a stop from want of funds.

In 1480, after an interval of eighteen years, they were resumed and with some vigour, for in 1484 the eastern portion of the church was sufficiently advanced to be used for service.

Thereupon there ensued another long period (of twenty-four years) during which nothing was done. In 1508 Henry VII., having it in contemplation to obtain from the pope (Julius II.) the canonization of his pious uncle, bethought him of the great work of Henry VI., still unfinished, and determined upon its completion. This was the more natural, since he had himself been a scholar of the sister college at Eton.^u

Under his patronage and that of his son, the church was at length brought to the perfection in which we now see it. There were thus three periods of activity (separated by intervals of some twenty years)—viz., 1446—1462, 1480—1484, and 1508—1545.

To which of these periods is the design of the great vault to be attributed? I believe it to be possible to ascertain this with certainty, and the fact has its value, in relation to the general history of the style.

It can be proved, as I propose to show, that the original design did not contemplate a fan-vault. More than this, it may be further shown what fashion of groin was, at the first, intended.

The works executed between 1446 and 1462 are readily distinguishable from those of the later builders by the use in them of the magnesian limestone from the Thesdale and Huddleston quarries. By the application of this test we ascertain that, at the cessation of the works in 1462, the building had been carried up as far as the transoms of the side-windows for five bays from the east end, while at the west end it stood but some four or five feet out of the ground.^v

Now, in the quire, the vaulting-shafts rest upon corbels at the transom-level, but in the ante-chapel,

westward from the seventh pier, they start from the floor-line.^w

The corbels of the quire, which belong to the work of the first period, give, of necessity, no indication of the form of vault in contemplation when they were designed; but in the shafts and bases of the ante-chapel we possess evidence of a most conclusive character.

Any one who will carry up his eye from the bases of these shafts to the springing of the great vault will perceive at once that the section of the shaft does not correspond with the plan of the vault-springers. There is a sort of cripple here. The shaft is, in fact, set out with seven members, while the design of the vault-plan requires but five. Thus two members of the pier have nothing to do, and disappear somewhat clumsily in the capital.^x

Now the section of these shafts was imposed by the first architect, and, as it does not agree with the requirement of a fan-groin, it is certain that a fan-groin was not contemplated by him.

This being made clear, two questions arise: what sort of vault did he contemplate? and at what date was it decided to depart from the original design in favour of the new form of vaulting which was ultimately adopted? To both these questions a perfectly clear answer may be given.

It is evident from the accuracy and minuteness of the directions given by the founder in his will (preserved in the college muniment room),^y that complete working plans had been prepared by the original architect. But beyond the general instruction that the building was to be "vaulted and charerofed," which might apply to any form of stone groining,^z we have no evidence, but such as the building itself supplies, as to the nature of the vault as originally designed.

The evidence, however, of the work itself is quite sufficient to decide this point, and more than this, it is possible to recover with some degree of accuracy the general distribution of the building as it was plotted down by its first originator.

Let us consider the position of the architect to whom this great work was entrusted. He was commissioned to design a chapel, of magnificence worthy of a royal foundation, and upon a scale

^u See Sandford's "Genealogical History," p. 433. Much interesting information concerning the projected canonization will be found in Mr. Carter's work, pp. 20, 21. Bacon, in his "History of England" (i. 634), says that the motive of the pope's refusal was a wish to preserve a distinction between saints and innocents.

^v The evidence of the stone employed is confirmed by these two points: 1. The angel corbels of the quire which range with the transoms are alike, and of the first date, until we come to the sixth pier (always numbering from the east), where they are of much larger size and of quite a different design. These two corbels clearly belong to the second period (1480—1484). 2. When the scaffolding was struck, upon the cessation of the works in 1462, the holes which had been left in the ashlar for the putlogs were made good (at any rate in the interior). When, therefore, the operations recommenced, in 1480, it became necessary either to draw these stones, or, as in practice would be found much simpler, to cut new ones. Accordingly, in the interior of the quire we may trace the putlock-holes thus formed by the second architect in the ashlar-work erected by his predecessor, as

far up as the window-transoms. Above this level he would naturally form the holes by simply leaving out a stone here and there, as had been done by the earlier builders, and thus above this level no such cuttings are to be traced.

^w The bases of these vaulting-shafts of the ante-chapel are all of the Yorkshire stone, while the enriched curtain-walls between them, obviously of a much later date, are of Weldon stone.

^x I have endeavoured to make this clear in the diagram. The plans have been very carefully plotted down for me by Mr. Thomas Godfrey. I may also refer to the very accurate drawings of Mr. F. Mackenzie, published (in 1840) by Weale. Of course, the greater portion of the length of these shaftings belongs to a later date, but the bases and lower portions being already fixed, the section could not well be changed until the level of the capitals was reached.

^y Cf. pp. 11-13 of Mr. Carter's work. The will is dated from Eton, March 12th, 1448.

^z The term *charerofed* appears to be derived from *chare*, a tilted wagon.

which to this day is unrivalled by the chapel of any lesser *familia* than that of the roman Pontiff.^{aa}

Now where would he most naturally look for his model? Surely to that chapel, the largest and the most splendid hitherto erected, that glory of England, only sixteen miles distant from Cambridge, the chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Ely.^{bb}

As we have already seen, the groin, which is indicated by the plan of the vaulting shafts of the ante-chapel, is not the fan-vault which, with some awkwardness, they have been compelled to bear. Their sections, and the peculiar distribution of their bases, unmistakably indicate a ribbed vault, with transverse, diagonal, and intermediate ribs.^{cc} Now, if we apply to the plan of these shaftings at Cambridge the plan of the vaulting at Ely, as is done in my diagram—we find the two to tally precisely. Each member of the pier has its corresponding rib, in the direction of the sweep of which each member of the base is laid down.

This might serve as proof sufficient, but it is not all. There exist in the church two lierne-groins of the work of the first period, those, namely, of the two easternmost chapels of the north range, and these are identical in principle with the great vault at Ely, and with the plan which is indicated by the distribution of the ante-chapel bases.

We know then that the first designer of the church did employ lierne, and not fan-vaulting, even in the small areas of the chapels,^{dd} and that these liernes resemble, not the later form—such as we may observe in the nave of Winchester Cathedral—but the earlier manner which is exhibited at Ely. There can therefore, as I conceive, be no doubt that this great chapel was designed to be “chare-roofed” with such a lierne-vault—it is practically a *welsh-groin*—as adorns the next grandest chapel in England, only sixteen miles distant.

The Lady-chapel at Ely offered then the type upon which the chapel of the King’s College was modelled, and this will appear natural enough when we observe that it was designed, in all probability, by an Ely man.

The design has been sometimes attributed to Nicholas Close, one of the six original fellows of

the College, who was undoubtedly the first “surveyor” of the new work. But he was a divine, not an architect. He was already an elderly man, and four years later (in 1450) became bishop of Carlisle, from which see he was afterwards translated to Lichfield. It is incredible that a priest, of such eminence in his calling as to rise to the episcopal dignity, should have been also a practical architect. The study of a life is requisite to excellence in either theology or architecture, and I view with extreme suspicion every story of a cleric who combined material and spiritual edification.

That many of the greatest ecclesiastics of the middle ages took a very keen interest in the progress of the architectural art, and were fully competent to criticise and suggest, there is no sort of doubt, but that they knew much more about the practical designing and execution of buildings than their successors of the present day, I do not for a moment believe.

The explanation of the importance of a position such as that to which Close, and after him provost Wodelarke, was appointed, is to be found in the different manner in which, as compared with our own practice, not merely building, but all great operations were carried out by our ancestors. At the present day we do everything by means of committees. From the government of the country by what is but a committee of a council, down to the restoration of a village church, or the management of a rustic school, this curious system prevails. It would seem as if we had, in our own opinion, dwindled down to a sartorial feebleness, and that it takes some nine of us to make a man. For what a numerous committee is now hardly equal, one man was found competent in more vigorous days.

Nicholas Close, and his successors, did the work which would now tax the concentrated abilities of a posse of fellows, and perhaps with as great efficiency.

We shall form a correct notion of the position of such a “surveyor” in mediæval times if we conceive of one of them, as concentrating in himself the talent and the labours of a general building committee, with a whole group of dependent sub-committees. Hence the unique importance of such overseers, an importance now, customarily, put into a commission of many.

The subdivision of labour, as Mr. Ruskin has well remarked, necessitates a partition of the man. In the middle ages this stage had not been reached. Personal authority, under personal responsibility, was recognised as the best security for the good conduct of affairs; and a generous confidence was reposed in those men of talent and of genius, whom it is now the aim of a domineering commonplace to hamper to the utmost by associating with them a quorum of fools.

It is not, therefore, “M^r. Nic^l. Closse”—as he is termed in the weekly account-book, of which a fragment has been discovered among the college muniments^{ee}—who is to be credited with the first

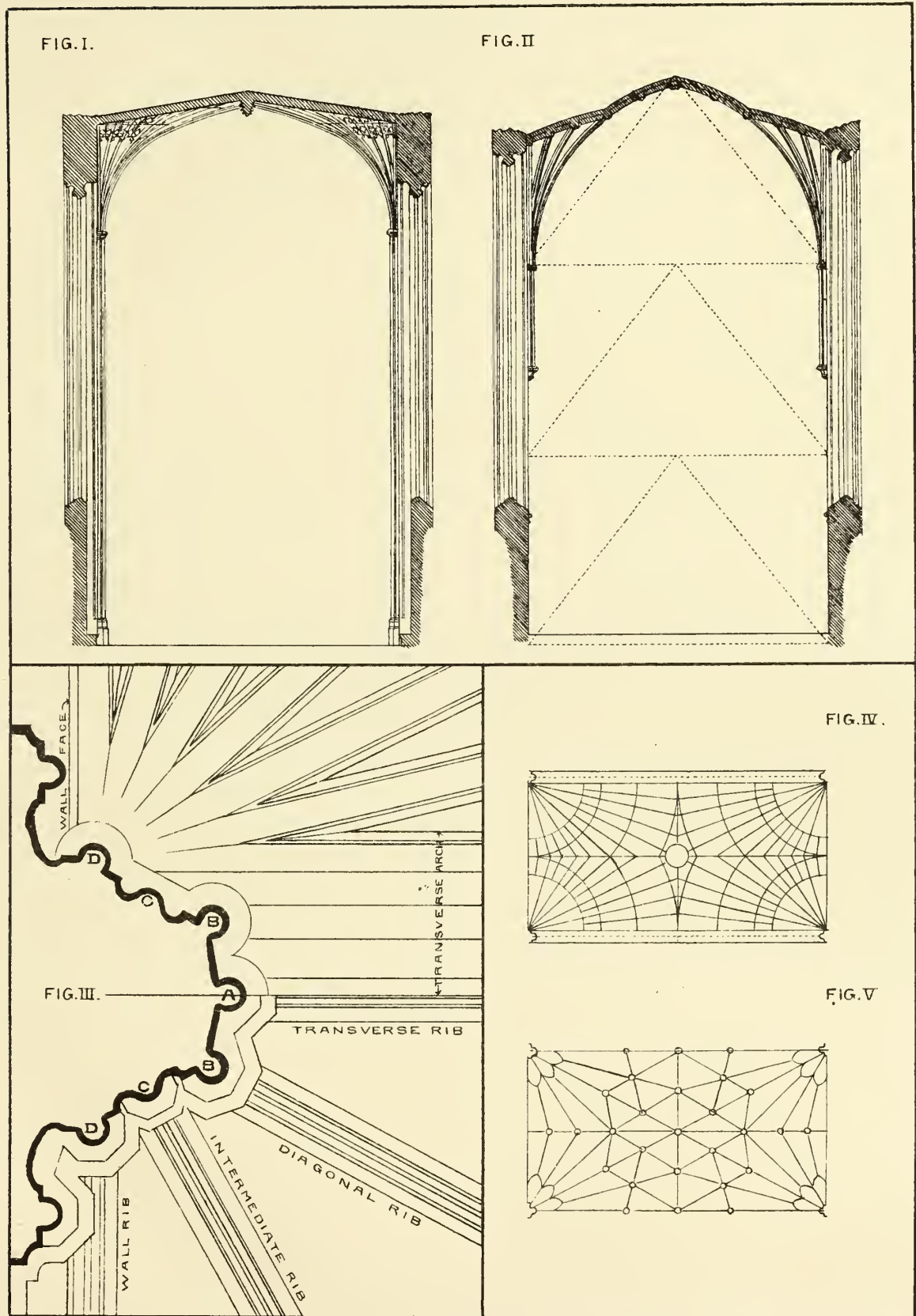
^{aa} The Sistine chapel is of about the same height; it is some few feet wider, but its length is less than half that of the Cambridge masterpiece. The Lady-chapel at Ely, of which more anon, with about the same width, has but a third of the length of the king’s chapel. The templars’ chapel at Temple Balsal (in Warwickshire), the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, the royal chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster, and that of St. Etheldreda in Holborn, have but two-thirds of its span, and only one-third of its length.

^{bb} Of this, the foundation-stone was laid by Alan of Walsingham when sub-prior, in 1321.

^{cc} Thus, in the diagram the shaft A was intended to carry the transverse rib. The base of B, set so curiously awry, points exactly at the central point of the whole bay, to which the diagonal rib would necessarily be carried: the shaft C has no member to carry in the existing vault, but it would be required in a ribbed vault for the intermediate rib, and the abnormal position of its base is at once explained. It faces exactly in the direction of such an intermediate.

^{dd} Where, as we shall see, the later architects naturally adopted fan vaults.

^{ee} Cf. p. 11 of Mr. Carter’s book.



KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

- FIG. I. CROSS-SECTION OF THE EXISTING BUILDING.
 FIG. II. CROSS-SECTION AS ORIGINALLY DESIGNED [CONJECTURAL].
 FIG. III. PLAN OF THE VAULTING SHAFTS.
 FIG. IV. DIAGRAM OF THE EXISTING FAN-VAULTING.
 FIG. V. DIAGRAM OF THE VAULTING AS ORIGINALLY DESIGNED [CONJECTURAL].

conception of this great work, but Reginald Ely, who, as early as 1443, was appointed by a patent of Henry VI., "to press masons, carpenters, and other workmen," for the new building. He continued to act as architect until the works came to a standstill in 1462, and it is he, doubtless, to whom belongs the honour of having planned this noble building.^{ff}

The next question that arises is, at what date was the original design of a lierne-vault abandoned in favour of a fan-groining? The answer to this is clear enough: it was upon the resumption of the works in 1480. As the vaulting-shafts of the ante-chapel are conclusive evidence of the mode of groining originally contemplated, so the vaulting-shafts of the quire indicate the form of the groining which the architect of 1480 had decided upon.

We have seen that the vault-shafts of the ante-chapel, having been designed to carry a lierne-vault, do not correspond in their members with the springer of the fan-vault above them, from which there results a certain "cripple," which is masked, as best may be, in their capitals. But the vault-shafts of the quire are of a different section, and agree perfectly with the requirement of the existing groin. It is therefore clear that the fan-vault had been decided upon when they were planned.

Now, as we have seen, the work of the first period had been brought up to the level of the transoms of the windows in the quire, and included, as would appear, the corbels of the vaulting-shafts which in this part of the church commence at this level. These corbels were, no doubt, designed to carry shafts of seven members, like those of the ante-chapel, but as a matter of fact the shafts which they do carry are, unlike those of the ante-chapel, of five members only, and agree perfectly with the springers of the fan-vault which rests upon them. As clearly, then, as a lierne-vault was contemplated when the ante-chapel shafts were planned (before 1462), so clearly, when these quire-shafts were designed (in 1480), the new form of "charerofing" had been decided upon.^{gg}

Some four years earlier than this, John Wolrich, whose name occurs in the account-book of 1443 among the ordinary masons, had become the master-mason of the works,^{hh} and it is to him that we may pretty safely attribute that entire modification of the original design which resulted in the building we now see.

There was involved in this alteration more than

^{ff} I once heard a well-informed archæologist observe that it was the misfortune of England in the middle ages, that while it had masons, it had, unlike France, no architects. We were standing in a window-recess in the first court of King's college. I made him no answer, but pointed to the chapel which stretched its majestic length along the opposite side of the quadrangle.

^{gg} The quire-corbels of the five eastern piers belong to the first period, those of the sixth piers to the second period. All the vault-shafts west of these piers start from the floor, and belong, in execution partly, and in their design wholly, to the first period.

^{hh} He is so called, says Mr. Carter, in a document dated 17 Aug., 1476, preserved at Caius College (p. 11).

merely a change in the form of the great vault, although this was a sufficiently bold innovation upon the plans which the founder had approved. Not only was the adoption of a novel mode of constructing the vault now determined upon, but its cross-section was brought down from that of a pointed arch, with a rise of nearly thirty feet, to a four-centred contour, rising little more than twenty feet.

Now the principle of proportioning already adopted in the building (which appears to be that of an isosceles triangle, having a base of eleven, with an altitude of seven)ⁱⁱ would have been sacrificed by such a reduction in height, which, moreover, the unusual length of the church could ill afford.

The architect decided, therefore, not to lower the level of his ridge-rib, but to raise that of the spring of his vault some six feet above the line at which his predecessor had fixed it. By this alteration he was enabled to obtain that depressed cross-section of vault which was then the new fashion in architecture, while still adhering to the system of proportionment of the original designer.^{jj}

By this change in the level of the spring of the vault, the whole character of the design of the interior (and to a certain extent of the exterior also) was changed. John Wolrich (in 1480) determined, as a matter of fact, to set aside the original plan, and he made what was in reality a new design. Entirely new it could not be, for the building was already completed up to the level of the transoms in the quire, and to some lesser height in the ante-church. He had, therefore, like more important persons, to accept accomplished facts, and while rejecting the policy of his predecessor, to adopt its results as the starting-point of his own.

Thus, while he raised the spring of his vault, he could not raise the spring of the side-windows, since this was virtually determined by that of the transoms, which was already fixed. Hence arose that remarkable, and, as far as I am aware, unique feature of the internal design, the eccentricity of wall-

ⁱⁱ This triangle is a reduplication of the proportional right-angled triangle, whose base is to the vertical side as 11-14. These numbers are not exact, as the sides of such a triangle are in reality incommensurate, but they are sufficiently nearly so for all practical purposes. The isosceles triangle of 11-7, which is the double of this right-angled triangle, constitutes the cross section of the great pyramid of Jeezeh. It may be detected, as the principle of the proportionment of many of the finest buildings of the middle ages, as, for example, the cathedrals of Paris and of Amiens, and in our own country Tintern, Howden, the quire of Gloucester, and the Beauchamp chapel at Warwick. It is obvious that in actual working, a triangle which is defined by its altitude is far more handy than one which (like the equilateral) is defined by the length of its sides. I may here refer the mathematical reader to a valuable paper, entitled "The Great Pyramid Triangle," by Mr. John S. Lee.

^{jj} The spring of the side-windows, which is that of the great vault as originally intended, is given by two 11-7 triangles described upon the clear width of the interior as a base. A third determines the apex of the existing vault, as doubtless of that originally contemplated. The early plan has this advantage, in point of principle, over the later, that both crown and spring of vault are fixed by a rule of proportion in the former, while in the latter the ridge alone is so determined, and the level of the springing is an arbitrary one.

rib and window-arch, which, though both of pretty much the same sweep, have their springing at different levels. The spandril-form, resulting from such a distribution, is the very *tritone* of gothic architecture, but its discord is here resolved into harmony by the arrangement of the wall-panelling, in a manner which gives one a very high idea of Wolrich's ability as an architect.^{kk}

To accomplish this feat he had, however, to make a certain sacrifice of exterior effect.

The side-windows, as originally designed, had their springing-line determined by the altitude of four 11-7 triangles, of which the clear width of the bay is the base,^{ll} and it was, no doubt, intended that the rise of their arch should be coincident with the apex of a fifth. The window-heads would thus have been of a proportion in accordance with the character of the earlier perpendicular manner, and with the Reginald's model at Ely. But such a curve would have been hopelessly discordant with the line of the wall-rib of Wolrich's fan-vault, and no human ingenuity could have harmonised the two. He was therefore compelled to lower the pitch of the window-arches so as to accord with the low curves of his wall-ribs, and of the cross-section adopted for the great vault.

By doing so he brought his interior into perfect unison, but at the same time he seriously compromised his external elevation. Much of the heaviness of effect—of which every one is sensible, in studying the exterior of this fine building—is due to the low pitch of the window-arches, which was rendered imperative by the alteration in the design of the great vault, and to the amount of wall-space above the windows which resulted, necessarily, from this change. The architect himself was conscious of this inevitable defect, and did his best to mitigate it by the introduction of a string-course and of piercings, three in each bay, suggested, no doubt, by the somewhat similar openings to be seen in the Ely chapel.^{mmm} But no ingenuity could conceal the discordance which was the result of a change in the design itself; and in looking at the exterior of the building one can never get over the impression that the windows are placed too low for the height of the walls.

The great aim of Wolrich was to complete a portion of the church so far as was necessary to enable it to be used for the divine service. He was able to carry up to the wall-plate the five eastern bays, and to cover in so much of the building with a roof of oak, the timber for which was

presented by the king (Edward IV.). In 1484, the windows of this portion were glazed with white glass.ⁿⁿ A partition was no doubt erected across the quire, between the fifth piers from the east, and this portion was then ready for use. The roof-truss which lies over these piers exhibited, until a recent restoration, upon its western face the weather-marks and the moss which, during its exposure for some years (1484—1508) as the westward finish of the roof, had formed upon it.^{oo}

No part of the great vault, however, was actually executed by Wolrich, although by the erection of its springers and wall-ribs its design was fixed.^{pp} Upon these springers he erected the wall-posts of his roof, and as there was no immediate prospect of erecting the vault below it, he gave it the character of a roof which is to be exposed to view. It is not, like the roof above a groining, purely constructional, but its beams are moulded, though simply, and its design, though unadorned, is not without elegance.

Meanwhile, the masonry work was carried on westward of the portion thus sufficiently completed for use. The sixth bay from the east on both sides and also the seventh upon the south, belong to the work of the second period. This is made evident by the design of the small niches in the internal reveals of the windows of these bays, which are similar to those of the rest of the quire,^{qq} while, on the contrary, the angel corbels of both the sixth piers are different in character from those to the eastward of them, which belong, as we have seen, to the first period.

By this time, five chapels upon the north, and six upon the south had been completed as far as concerned their walls, but none of these were as yet vaulted, except the two easternmost ones of the north range, which had been groined during the first period.

We are thus enabled to define pretty exactly the

ⁿⁿ The account for the glazing of the east window and of the two eastern windows of each side-range is preserved, and will be found in Mr. Carter's work, p. 18. The others probably followed very shortly after.

^{oo} It was common, naturally enough, to take possession of the churches for purposes of worship, at the earliest possible date, and often long before their actual completion. Thus the triforium-story of the nave of Bridlington Priory church still exhibits traces of its exposure, through many years, to the action of the weather, while the same is not the case with the pier-arches below it, or with the clerestory above. The work was interrupted before the triforium was completed, and the nave was roofed in, in a temporary manner, above the pier-arches, leaving the unfinished stage above it exposed. It so continued until the work was resumed in the next century, and the whole roofed in at the proper level. Indications of the same sort may be observed in the church of Melbourne in Derbyshire, and in many other instances.

^{pp} Of course, a drawing more or less complete of the whole vault must have been prepared before a stone of its springers could be set. It is possible that it is this design of Wolrich's, or a copy of it, to which the executors of Henry VII. refer in the indenture of 1512, in which the provost and scholars agree "without delay to wawte the church of the saide college after the fourme of a *platte therfor devised*." (Cf. Carter, "King's Coll. Chapel," p. 23.)

^{qq} As far as the western sides of the sixth pier north and of the seventh pier south.

^{kk} The great space which intervenes between the window-heads and the wall-ribs is one of the peculiarities of this church, which strikes every architect. The difficulty arising from it is overcome in a masterly manner, but I am not aware that it has hitherto occurred to any one to inquire how the difficulty itself arose.

^{ll} As the cross-section of the church is forty-four feet, and the clear width of the bay twenty-two, two 11-7 triangles described upon the larger base are, of course, equivalent to four described upon the smaller.

^{mmm} At Ely there are two in each bay, and they are designed as quatrefoils inscribed within a circle; at King's chapel there are three to each severey, and they consist of quatrefoils inscribed in a square.

KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL
CAMBRIDGE

FIG. I

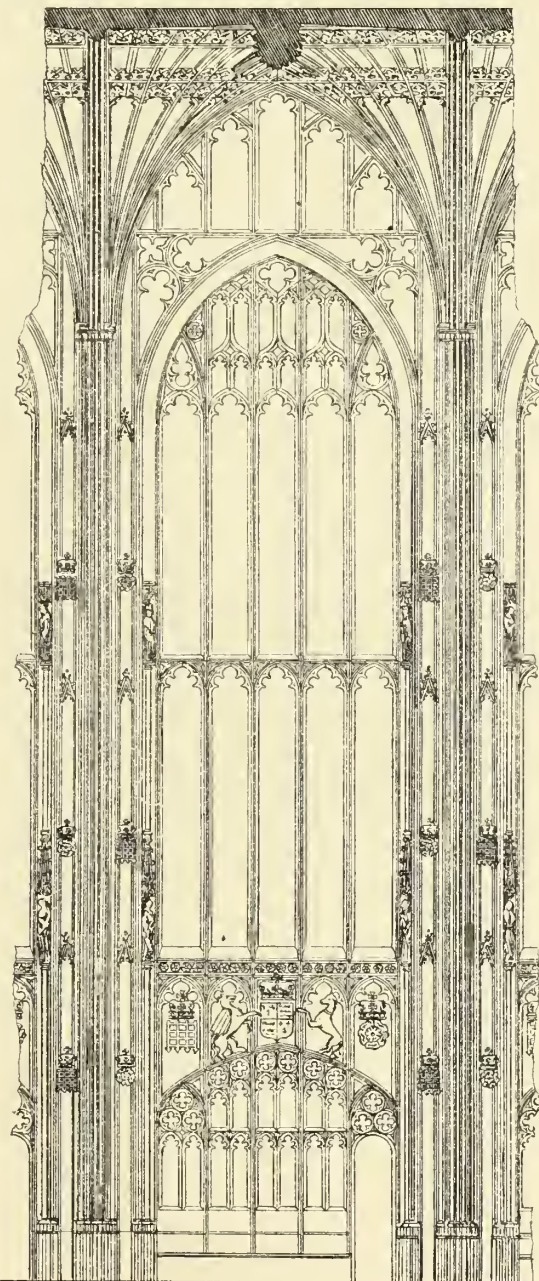


FIG. II

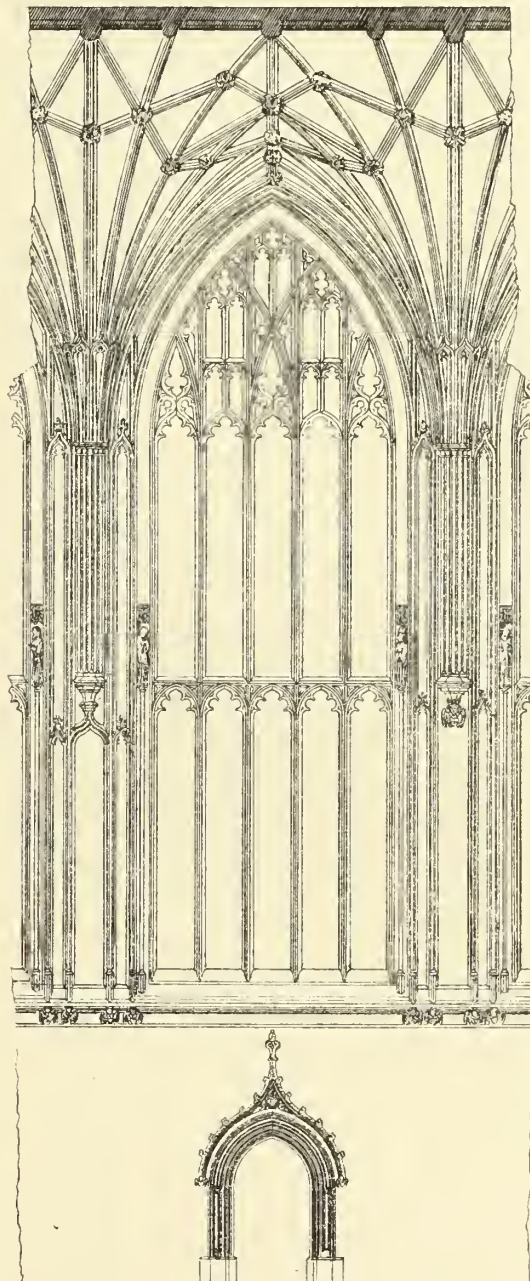


FIG. I. BAY OF ANTECHAPEL. ACTUAL DESIGN.

FIG. II. BAY OF QUIRE. CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF THE ORIGINAL DESIGN.

state of the work when it came to a stop for the second time, about the year 1484.

In 1508, Henry VII., finding that his life was drawing to a close, presented the sum of £5,000, equivalent to some £60,000 of our money, towards the completion of his uncle's great work. The surveyor of the works was Thomas Larke, archdeacon of Norwich, but the name of the architect has not been preserved. This is of the less importance, as though the work of this third and last period presents many innovations in point of detail upon that of the two preceding architects, yet no alteration was made in the design itself, which was completed in accordance with the plans of 1480.

The work of Henry VII. and of his son, is distinguished by the introduction in profusion of heraldic badges and achievements. These are to be found—in exact accord with the account already given of the extent of the work of the second period—throughout the ante-church, from the seventh buttress (from the east) upon the north, and the eighth upon the south.

Internally, they are found also upon the eighth pier of the southern range, which the window-niches show to have been erected by Wolrich, but this apparent conflict of evidence disappears when it is observed that the badges upon this pier are not like the rest, built into the pier, but have been inserted into the earlier masonry at a later date.

It is the fashion with a certain school of architects to condemn the exuberance of heraldry which characterises the work of this third period. So do not I. Let those blame it who can design an ornamentation as effective.⁵⁵

In 1512, the provost and scholars agreed, by indenture with the executors of Henry VII., to execute the great vault, to put up the stalls, and to fill the whole of the windows with painted glass. Between this year and 1515, the wonderful conception of Wolrich was at length carried into execution. At the same time all the chantries (with the exception of the two already groined) received their vaults. Of these nine chapels (three upon the north, and six upon the south) were vaulted with liernes, in accordance with the springers and wall-ribs put up by the earlier builders; the remaining seven, which were just built, received the fan-vaults for which they had from the first been designed.

Thus, by the year 1515 the masonry of this great building had been brought to a tardy completion.

Of the painted windows, that over the north door of the ante-church is the earliest, and was executed between the years 1515 and 1517. The same artist (one Bernard Flower) subsequently put in three others, and, upon his decease, agreements

were made (in 1526) for the erection of the whole of the remaining twenty-two windows.⁵⁶

In 1530, it was in contemplation to fill the whole of the fifty-four niches of the church with statuary, and what is still more interesting, to paint and gild the great vault, although no mention is made of extending the same decorations to the walls.⁵⁷ These works were never carried out.

The charming rood-loft and the whole of the stall-work, with the exception of the canopies of the side-stalls, were completed, as is clear from the H:A badges with which they are enriched, during the short reign of the unhappy and notorious Anne Boleyn (1533—1536). They are in the renaissance manner, and the first example of the style in Cambridge. They appear to me to differ in character from Torregiano's works at Westminster,⁵⁸ and to be rather french than italian; although the hand of an italian sculptor may be traced in some portions of the figure-carving, which recalls in its vigour the style of Michael Angelo. They bear a striking resemblance—not hitherto, as far as I am aware, observed—to the stall-work of the remarkable church of St. Bertrand des Comminges, in the french Pyrenees, which bears the date of 1537.⁵⁹

There exist in the hospital-church of St. Katharine, in the Regent's Park, some fragments of a very similar character, and as this ancient foundation,⁶⁰ of which, as queen-consort, she was patroness, is said to have been saved from the rapacity of her husband by the intercession of Anne Boleyn, we may reasonably refer them to the same school of joiners.

The high-altar was erected in the last year of Henry VIII., and it does not appear that it was ever consecrated. It stood but four years, and was removed upon the 11th of April, 1549, exactly one month after the appearance of the first printed copy of king Edward's first prayer-book.⁶¹

⁵⁵ They are given in Mr. Carter's work, p. 40.

⁵⁶ See the very curious estimate printed in Mr. Carter's book (pp. 44-47). A sum of £24 13s. 4d. is allowed for the decoration of each severity, equivalent at the present day to about £3,840 for the whole. The mode of estimating the cost of the statuary is curious. "Two images of kings at the west dorr in two tabernacles made for the same, either of viii. foote high, fowre at the south and north doores of the said church, either of vi. foot high—and xlviii. images within the saide church, every of them of three foote high, amounting in all to clxxii. foote at v^s the fote, esteemed in workmanship, which amounteth unto xliiii. li." This very business-like manner of estimating works of high art will shock some modern purists, who are accustomed to regard the middle age through the spectacles of sentiment.

⁵⁷ Namely the tombs of the Lady Margarec, of her son Henry VII., and of his consort Elizabeth, in the lady-chapel re-erected by him, which were completed in 1519; and the baldaquin over the high-altar of the same chapel, figured in Sandford's "Genealogical History of England," p. 471.

⁵⁸ The work at St. Bertrand includes, what is wanting in the Cambridge example, an altar-piece or reredos of the same style, which would afford a valuable model for adoption at King's College chapel.

⁵⁹ Removed to its present site upon the construction of St. Katharine's docks.

⁶⁰ Cf. Mr. James Parker's "Introd. to the Hist. of the Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer," p. 23.

⁶¹ Edmond Tudor, father of Henry VII., was half-brother to Henry VI., their mother, Catharine, daughter of Charles VI. of France, having been married first to Henry V. and afterwards to Sir Owen ap Tudor.

⁵⁵ In the centre of one of the great roses in the interior, there is pointed out a diminutive representation of the assumption of the B.V.M. I take this to be an *ex voto* of a pious stone-carver.

Thus ends, save for the short reaction of Mary's reign, the history of the erection of this, one of the noblest monuments of catholic England.

I have dwelt upon it at some length, both because of the great interest attaching to the history of its erection, and also because it illustrates, in its second design, upon a magnificent scale, that latest phase of gothic, which constitutes, in my opinion, a new style, and to the merits of which I have desired to draw especial attention.

After such works as King's College chapel, Bath Abbey, St. George's chapel, Windsor, and the lady-chapel at Peterborough, there remained but one advance more to be made in the construction of groining, and that is one to be wondered at, rather than admired.

It was impossible to push constructional science further than it had been carried in the regular fan-vault. It only remained to exaggerate science in a *tour de force*.

The roof of Henry VII.'s chapel—the lady-chapel of Westminster Abbey—displays this last wonderful effort of constructive daring. Imagine a building vaulted like King's College chapel: add to it, aisles as lofty as the main vault, separated from the nave by soaring pillars, and similarly groined: then sweep away all your pillars, throwing nave and aisles into one vast span, and leave your vault resting apparently upon nothing, and exhibiting, where the pillars once stood, only a series of great pendants, floating in mid-air. Such is the conception of this truly audacious roof. The problem of providing that support which pillars would naturally have afforded, but *without* pillars, was solved by the introduction of flying arches passing through the pendants. The pendants are long suspended bars of stone, upon the bases of which the groining is built up.²²

This most daring work fitly closes the history of the gothic style. Hardly was it completed before the Italian Torregiano, in the sumptuous tomb of the founder below, inaugurated that new classic style which was to succeed to it. In this wonderful chapel the style had said its last word, and both as regards constructive ability and power of artistic effect, this great work forms a noble climax to a wonderful history.

I regard the later phase of the perpendicular style as the most original and able thing that the English have achieved in art. It was really the discovery of a new and quite unlooked-for capability in pointed architecture.

The French and the Germans had worked on, for almost two centuries, in the flamboyant style, which never, to the last, with all the advance made in its elaboration, exhibited any new principle.

The English ran through the same flowing style,

²² There is an instance of a ribbed-vault, constructed with pendants somewhat upon this principle, in the porch of the south transept of St. Ouen's church in Rouen, but the scale is, of course, small. There are no flying arches in this case, so that the construction is less scientific than that of the english example.

in their own way, in about seventy years. They exhausted its capabilities—saw that there was nothing more to be got from it than they had already in principle obtained, and then deliberately, with the originality of genius, advanced into an entirely new path.

The fourth-pointed style must be regarded as the latest and most advanced phase, which medieval art anywhere assumed, and in it, as we cannot doubt, the capabilities of the style were finally exhausted.

It is the glory of the english school of architecture, that in England alone did the gothic style receive its final and complete development.

Pointed architecture in England died a natural death. It was not forcibly supplanted, but sank to rest in a vigorous and green old age. The style which succeeded to its inheritance had a different fate. It was slain in its prime by the revived roman or classic architecture. But the gothic had done its work in the world before it left it.

The style of the renaissance may, quite conceivably, have had more yet to say, but pointed architecture had spoken its last word.

I have thus brought to its proper conclusion the history of english church architecture.

Viewed as the working-out and expansion of primitive ecclesiastical tradition, it terminates with the religious catastrophe by which that tradition was broken up. Regarded from a purely architectural standpoint, it ends with the fall of the gothic style. These two distinct events have, undoubtedly, a certain correlation, though one which does not lie upon the surface. In this country, however, they synchronised, as they did nowhere else so exactly, and their conjunction determines the point at which our review of the history reaches its natural completion.

Our earlier studies were concerned mainly with ecclesiology, our later ones with architecture.

Our first task was to exhibit the sources from which was derived the type of our medieval cathedrals and of our parish churches, and we saw that there were two—the roman basilica, and the church of the primitive british christians. We traced out the conflict and intermingling of the two types during the saxon period, and noted those innovations, which were gradually elaborated during the period of which the norman conquest forms the central event. The plans and arrangements of the churches having thus attained their typical medieval development, we turned our attention thenceforward, chiefly, to the history of the architecture of churches, and we have followed this out to its climax in the late perpendicular style.

It has been my object to unfold, as far as possible, the *principles* which underlie changes, whether of arrangement or of style, which at first sight appear capricious, and are often obscure.

I shall not have occupied the reader's time in vain, if I have succeeded in exhibiting some, at least, of the causes and principles of which the history of our church architecture is the evolution.

NOTES AND REMARKS UPON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

- PL. I. *Frontispiece*
 The abbey of Dore, interior view of the presbytery. This (as also the plate which follows it) is a fac-simile, produced in photo-lithography by Messrs. Akerman (6, Queens Square, Bloomsbury), of a sketch by the late Edward O'Brien. It exhibits that rectangular version of the *chevet*, which is peculiar to our own country, and is perhaps its most perfect example. Some remarks upon this abbey-church will be found on p. 129.
- PL. II. p. iv
 Exterior view of the east end of Tintern abbey. This is a well-known and singularly beautiful specimen of the architecture of the cistercian order, at the period of the perfection of the early decorated style.
- PL. III. p. 4
 The Basilica Jovis, upon the Palatine Hill, erected by Domitian. Fig. I., interior view. Fig. II., plan. The internal view represents a purely conjectural restoration. It is clear from the plan that the hall was designed to be vaulted. What was the form of its vault cannot now be known. By the fact of being vaulted it stands in marked contrast to the christian basilican type, which is essentially timber-roofed.
- PL. IV. p. 6
 Ground plan of the Basilica Ulpia, erected by Trajan. After Canina : Roma Antica.
- PL. V. p. 8
 Ground plan of the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine. After Canina.
- PL. VI. p. 10
 Interior view of the basilica of Sts. Nereus and Achilles, upon the Appian way. This church is referred to at p. 58. The drawing has been engraved on wood by Mr. E. S. Gascoigne from photographs, aided by reference to Letarouilly ("Rome Moderne," iii., pl. 266). The coffered ceiling, which no longer exists, has been supplied from that of the neighbouring church of St. Cæsareus. As the sanctuary lies (as is usual in such churches) toward the west, what one sees, in the view of the altar, is not its front, but its rere-side, below which is seen the grille, closing the *fenestra* or *jugulum*, as it was often termed, by which a view of the interior of the confessional-crypt is afforded. If the drawing showed the mass in action, the celebrant would be seen beyond the altar-cross and tapers, facing toward the spectator. Observe in the baldaquin the rods for the support of the veils. Also in the apse the cathedra of the presiding prelate, from which St. Gregory delivered his twenty-eighth homily. Also the *analogia*, or desks for the lections, and the marble candlesticks, upon the septum of the sanctuary, and the great *candelabrum* for the paschal taper upon the gospel side of the nave. This church was restored by Cardinal Baronius. Its erection is attributed to pope Leo III. (795-816). If this be so, it is, speaking generally, contemporary with several churches still existing in our own country of the saxon period. Its arrangements may be compared, for example, with those of the church of Wing in Buckinghamshire, described on p. 46.
- PL. VII. p. 18
 Ground plan of the ancient basilica of St. Paul (Basilica Ostiensis) at Rome. From Letarouilly ("Rome Moderne," iii., pl. 334). This venerable monument was destroyed by fire on the 16th of July, 1823. It has been magnificently rebuilt upon the ancient lines, by the succeeding popes. In 1840, Gregory XVI. re-dedicated the transepts and the high-altar, and the whole edifice was

re-consecrated by pope Pius IX. in the presence of a vast assembly of bishops and prelates from every part of christendom, in 1854. This basilica is the most conspicuous example in Rome, of the eastward position of the sanctuary, which became, in later ages, universal in the trans-alpine countries, including our own.

PL. VIII. p. 20

Ground plan of the ancient Basilica of St. Peter (Basilica Vaticana) at Rome. From Fontana ("Templum Vaticanum," ii., c. x., pl. i.). This great church—*sacer Divi Petri dominatus torus*, as St. Leo the Great terms it, *ædes in terris, tanquam sol in æthereis regionibus, emicans*, as Gregory IX. describes it—was commenced by Constantine in 306, upon the site of an oratory, erected as early as the year 90, by Pope Anacletus, who had received ordination from St. Peter himself. This little church marked the spot where was deposited the body of the Prince of the Apostles after his crucifixion, on that spur of the Janiculan hill, upon which stands the church of St. Peter in *Montorio*. The site was further endeared to christians as co-incident with that of the circus of Nero, the scene of that terrible series of martyrdoms, which followed upon the burning of Rome in 64. The obelisque, which formed the central adornment of the *spina* of Nero's hippodrome, originally stood some thirty yards to the south of the basilica of Constantine. In 1586 it was transferred to the position which it now occupies in the centre of the great colonnade, which forms so noble an approach to the existing church. The destruction of the ancient basilica was commenced under Nicholas V. (1447-1455), but complete drawings were made of it before its demolition, from which the plans published by Fontana and others are taken.

As St. Paul's (without the walls) is the great example in Rome, of (what is exceptional there) an eastward sanctuary, so St. Peter's is the most conspicuous instance of the normal and primitive arrangement of a westward bema.

In this plan is to be noted, the *cathedra Petri*, the pontifical throne, in the centre of the great apse, a position which it retains in the existing church. This is flanked by the continuous ranges of presbyteral thrones. The high-altar, surmounted by a baldachin, occupies the centre of the apse, the floor of which, ascended by many steps from the level of the nave, is elevated above the confessional-crypt in which reposed the remains of the great apostle. This consisted of a central chamber, or confessio, having an altar immediately beneath the high-altar, and, originally, visible from the nave by means of a latticed window (or *jugulum*), to allow of which the range of steps giving access to the sanctuary are interrupted in their centre. This arrangement is in principle the same with that which we still see at Sts. Nereus and Achilles (pl. VI.), and at St. George in *Velabro*. We have also good reason to believe that the same was the plan adopted by St. Augustine at Canterbury (cf. pl. IX.) In the saxon crypts which still exist, under the sanctuaries of the churches of Wing in the vale of Aylesbury, and of Repton in Derbyshire, the *jugulum* may still be traced.

This central *confessio* was surrounded by a semi-circular passage, close to the wall of the apse, serving as a *polyandrium*, or place of burial for the successors of St. Peter. This part of the crypt was entered from the transept, to right and left of the platform of the presbytery; for the ascending flight of steps already mentioned abutted at their outer extremities upon low vertical walls, supporting their balustrades, and in the face of these walls, north and south, the entrances to the *polyandrium* were placed, close to the western wall of the transept. A plan of this sanctuary to a larger scale will be found in Willis' "Canterbury" (p. 22), and it is of special interest to us, as having formed the model, as Eadmer expressly tells us, of St. Augustine's additions at Canterbury, and as we may see for ourselves, of the sanctuary and confessional-crypt at Wing (pl. X.). As regards the rest of the basilica, the plan will speak for itself, and it is only necessary to refer the reader to the remarks to be found on pp. 7, 9, and 62.

PL. IX. p. 38

Conjectural restoration of the ground plan of the cathedral church of Canterbury, previous to the fire of 1067.

In this drawing the dark shade indicates the portion of the original basilica, "*antiquo Romano-opere facta*" (Bede, "*Eccles. Hist.*," i., 33), retained by St. Augustine in his enlargement, while the lighter shade shows the addition made by him. This differs from the plan given by Willis ("*Canterbury Cath.*," p. 27), chiefly in the position given to the two towers, which stood, as Eadmer tells us, "*sub medio longitudinis aulæ*." I have ventured to account for the very exceptional position of these towers by supposing them to be part of the original basilica, of the atrium of which

they formed the north-western and south-western angles. If this conjecture be sound, the western walk of the atrium would have occupied the position indicated upon the plan by dotted lines. If the reader will place his hand across the part of the drawing shaded light, he will perceive that the portion left exposed exhibits the normal plan of an early roman basilica, such as St. Clement's. Like this, it has a westward sanctuary and an eastward atrium. As in St. Clement's the celebrant, facing as always eastward, faced towards the people, and behind him in the centre of the apse, here, as in the ancient (and the modern) St. Peter's, and in all the early basilicas, was the *cathedra* of the bishop (cf. p. 38). From the dedication of the altar of this western apse (the high-altar of the original basilica), we may infer that the "*Romani fideles*," of the fourth century, had placed their church under the invocation of the mother of God. The apostle of the Saxons, while extending the church eastward, transferred the attribution from the mother to the Son, and gave to it that majestic title—the church of Christ, which it has, to this day, preserved (cf. p. 37, note). The dotted lines in the plan of the eastern apse indicate the distribution of the crypt, which was planned by St. Augustine, "*ad instar confessionis sancti Petri*." Within this confessional-crypt there was to the eastward an altar, and to the westward of it were deposited, in later times, the body of the great St. Dunstan. This crypt comprised (as is clear from the description of Eadmer, and from reference to what is known of its model, in the ancient vatican basilica) a central portion, the *confessio* proper, and a semi-circular alley, termed the *polyandrium*, which was approached by a descent of steps from the north and south aisles of the church, whose extremities formed (no doubt) respectively the *diaconicum*, and the *prothesis*, the equivalents of the sacristies of later times. I may remark that the apse in the southern tower, suggested by professor Willis, as the site of the altar of St. Gregory, belongs, as is clear, both from its position and from its dedication, to the later period (cf. p. 102).

PL. X. p. 44

Fig. I., View of the saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon from the north-east. Drawn on wood from photographs by Mr. E. S. Gascoine. A plan and elevations of this church will be found in my father's "*Lectures*" (ii., p. 46). It exemplifies, in its square-ended sanctuary and its narrow sanctuary arch, the traditions of native british christianity, as distinguished from the latin basilican type, adopted at Canterbury by the roman colonists (*romani fideles*) of the fourth century, and re-introduced by the roman missionaries of the sixth and seventh centuries.

Fig. II., Ground plan of the church of Wing in Buckinghamshire. This is, in spite of later alterations, completely basilican and completely latin. It thus stands in marked contrast with the church of Bradford (above). As Bradford illustrates the native model, so does Wing the *mos romanus* (cf. remarks on p. 46). The plan here given is that of the existing church, except as regards the following points, in which the original arrangements are, conjecturally, restored:—
1. Position of the high-altar, indicated, as we shall see, by the plan of the crypt below. 2. The arrangement of the ascent to the sanctuary, and of the descents to the crypt (at A and B). As regards the position of the latter the evidence is pretty complete, while the former only differs from the existing arrangement in the interruption of the flight, by a sort of gap (C), such as is common in similar cases at Rome and elsewhere, which the existence of a *jugulum* in the crypt would appear to have necessitated. 3. As the church now is, the walls to the eastward of the three original arches, is on either side, pierced by one arch of the medieval period. The fact of the insertion here of arches of later date, seems to prove that these walls were originally blank. They are accordingly so represented upon the plan. 4. There is no actual evidence that the eastern portions of the aisles were screened off, as here shown, but from what we know of the arrangements of churches of similar plan in other parts of christendom, it is highly probable that they were so treated and served as the *diaconicum* and the *prothesis*, or as the sacristy and the library. They doubtless communicated with the body of the church (as was usual in such cases) by doorways, of which the medieval arches, here inserted, are expansions. The reader is requested to compare the plan of this Buckinghamshire basilica (of, probably, the seventh century) with that of the Syrian church of Qalb-Louzé (pl. XV.) of the sixth. If it is remarkable to find in a midland county of England a church in type basilican and roman, it is also striking to find near Aleppo, a church whose plan differs from that of a roman basilica precisely in those points in which this Buckinghamshire example also diverges from the same common model.

Fig. III., Plan of the crypt below the apse at Wing. When the notice of this crypt in the text (p. 46) was written, I had only a description given by my father in his "*Lectures on Medieval Architecture*," to rely on, as the crypt itself had been closed for many years. I have lately been

permitted, by the courtesy of the vicar (the Rev. P. T. Ouvry), to re-open it, and the plan here given shows the result of this exploration. As the reader will observe, there is a central chamber or *confessio*, forming an irregular polygon some twelve feet by eight feet. Inclosing this is a passage-way, or *polyandrium*, opening into the *confessio* upon three sides, namely, by the archways E and F, and by a window-light aperture at G. This *polyandrium* is continued (on each side of the sanctuary) westward, until it is clear of the triumphal arch above, when its narrow passages are diverted north and south; and it is clear that they opened into the aisles (or rather into what I have termed the *diaconicum* and the *prothesis*, at the east end of the aisles) by an ascent of steps (A.B in Figs. II. and III.). At the west end of the central crypt are remains of the *jugulum*, *cataracta*, or *fenestra* (D, Fig. III.) (cf. Lenoir's "Archit. Monast.," i., p. 214), which clearly communicated with the nave of the church at C (Figs. II. and III.), and through which a view might be obtained of the relics preserved in the *confessio*. The original position of the high-altar, and, possibly, of a baldaquin surmounting it, is indicated by the large mass of masonry, through which the passage from C to D is carried, which formed their sub-structure.

The general plan of this crypt agrees, in the main, with what we know to have been the distribution of those of the *vatican basilica* (cf. Willis, "Canterbury Cathedral," p. 23), of the churches of St. Saba and St. Praxede (cf. Lenoir's "Archit. Monast.," i., p. 211), and of other early basilicas at Rome; of the church of Brixworth (p. 46), and probably of that constructed by St. Augustine at Canterbury (p. 37). It differs, however, from these in the two *lateral* arches of communication between the *polyandrium* and the *confessio*, which are unusual, and which indicate, perhaps, the transition from the early type to that of the pillared crypt of the later saxon times (as that of Repton, Derbyshire), and of our medieval cathedrals.

I have failed to discover anything of the early history of this interesting church, or of the relics for the reception of which this *confessio* was designed.

The crypt is very rudely constructed in rubble, combined, in the vaultings, with calcareous tufa. The whole interior was originally coated with white-washed plaster, of which there are still certain remains.

PL. XI. p. 46

Ground plan of Brixworth Church, Northants. This is taken from the monograph of the late vicar (the Rev. C. F. Watkins). It is particularly interesting as exhibiting specimens of three successive *styles* of saxon work. Thus the church itself is of very early work—*more romano*,—the western tower, over the centre of the narthex, is of a later date, characterised by the use of the baluster-shaft, while the circular turret, upon its western face—though clearly saxon,—is later again. As the study of our pre-conquestal architecture progresses, it will become possible, I have little doubt, to discriminate the successive styles of saxon architecture, and their respective dates, with something of the precision which has been arrived at with regard to later medieval art.

PL. XII. p. 52

Fig. I., Ground plan of the church of Surp Garabed, in Cappadocia, from Texier and Pullan's work on "Byzantine Architecture."

Fig. II., Ground plan of the church of Der el Adra, upon the Nile, from Curzon's "Monasteries in the Levant."

PL. XIII. p. 54

Fig. I., Cross section of the basilican church at Dana, near the Euphrates, A.D. 540.

Fig. II., Ground plan of the same. From Texier and Pullan's work. This should be compared with the Canterbury plan (pl. IX.) and the plan of the church of Wing (pl. X.).

PL. XIV. p. 56

Fig. I., Plan of the church at Babouda, between Damascus and Aleppo. From the Count de Vogüé's "Syrie Centrale, Architecture Civile et Religieuse du Premier au Septième Siècle" (Baudry: Paris, 1877). This is probably of the fourth century. It illustrates the apsidal model in its earlier form, such as we see it at Surp Garabed (pl. XII.) and elsewhere. It is un-aisled, and therefore not a basilica. This, the so-called, basilican plan would appear to have been, not the original type of a christian church, but rather an advance upon the primitive form, which was without aisles, and planned *δρομικῶ σχηματι*, i.e. on the lines of a circus or hippo-drome.

Fig. II., Ground plan of the secular basilica at Chaqqa, to the south-east of Damascus. From the Count de Vogüé's work. This illustrates the plan (wholly different from that of a christian basilica) which was dictated by the requirements of the men of business, for whose convenience the exchange-halls (termed also *basilicæ*) were erected.

PL. XV. p. 58

Fig. I., Ground plan of the church of Qalb-Louzé, to the west of Aleppo. From the Count de Vogüé's work. This is of the sixth century, and is particularly interesting to us from the similarity of its plan with that of the church at Wing, in Buckinghamshire (cf. pl. X., Fig. II.). In both cases the altar-platform is extended several feet in advance of the triumphal arch, as in the basilicas of Rome.

Fig. II., Cross-section of the church at Moudjeleia, to the south-west of Aleppo.

Fig. III., Ground plan of the same, from the Count de Vogüé's work.

PL. XVI. p. 60

Plan of the church of St. Simon Stylites (Kalat-Sema'n), to the north-west of Aleppo. From the Count de Vogüé's work. A description of this great church will be found on pp. 55, 56. The central octagon was hypæthral, the rest of the building (indicated by a shaded tint) being roofed in.

PL. XVII. p. 62

Fig. I., View of the apse of the church of St. Simon Stylites. Engraved on wood by Mr. E. S. Gascoigne from the Count de Vogüé's work. The architecture of this church, erected between the years 459 and 560, bears a resemblance, which must strike every antiquary, to the romanesque of central France, as developed some six centuries later (cf. pp. 12, 13).

Fig. II., Plan of a basilica at Thessalonica (Eski Djuma, the ancient mosque). From Texier and Pullan's work. Some remarks upon this church will be found on p. 53. It has the westward sanctuary and the prothesis, as usual upon the epistle-side, is therefore to the left of the high-altar. Observe in the exo-narthex the fountain of ablution, of which the holy-water stoup of the western churches preserves the tradition.

PL. XVIII. p. 74

Plan for the abbatial church of St. Gall, near the lake of Constance.

PL. XIX. p. 84

Fig. I., Conjectural restoration of the ground plan of the basilica of St. Felix at Nola, as described by St. Paulinus, its founder (cf. p. 78, *et seq.*). An explanation of the plan will be found upon p. 85.

Fig. II., Plan of the basilica at Trieste, from Lenoir's "Architecture Monastique." This church appears to throw light upon much that is obscure in the description of Paulinus, particularly in regard to the relative positions of the two adjacent basilicæ, and of the *transenna* (E, Fig. I.), by which they were united (cf. p. 62, footnote).

PL. XX. p. 100

View of the north side of the nave of St. Alban's abbey-church. The pier upon the extreme left shows the junction of the new work of abbat Trumpington (1214-1235) with the original norman work of abbat Paul, erected between the years 1077 and 1088 (cf. remarks upon, p. 120).

PL. XXI. p. 102

Fig. I., Plan of the cathedral-church of Canterbury as rebuilt (1070-1077) by archbishop Lanfranc. This should be compared with plate IX., which gives a (conjectural) plan of the earlier church which this replaced. The position of the altar of St. Mary, in the north aisle of the nave, was retained when this part of the church was rebuilt in 1390-1411. Of the then prior Chillenden we read (Obit. Ang. Sac., quoted in Willis' "Canterbury," p. 119), "*navem istius ecclesiæ, cum capella B. Mariæ virginis in eadem sita opere-que decenti fabricata, totaliter renovavit.*" This somewhat unusual position of the principal altar of our Lady in this church is explained by reference to the arrangements of Lanfranc's church, where the chapel is seen to occupy a perfectly natural and indeed normal position relatively to the quire of the monks. It served very probably as the chapel of the lay brothers. It was in consequence of the removal of the quire, by St. Anselm's priors, out of the nave into the eastern limb, that the position of this chapel became somewhat

abnormal. The form of the eastern termination shown upon my plan is conjectural, nor is it known how the crypt, which extended beneath the whole of the presbytery, was approached. Most probably it was entered from either transept, by a descent of steps adjacent to the eastern piers of the great tower beneath the flight which ascended to the presbytery level, or there may have been a central access to the east of the matutinal altar.

Fig. II., Plan of the priory-church of Lindisfarne as rebuilt by bishops Carileph and Flambard. The work was commenced in 1093, the same year as the norman cathedral of Durham. The quire of the monks appears to have been in this case confined to the space beneath the central tower. The altars against the piers of the nave are interesting, and should be compared with the similar arrangement of the nave altars of St. Alban's abbey in norman times (cf. p. 99, and pl. XX.). Beyond the great apse is indicated the rectangular extension given to the sanctuary, apparently in the fifteenth century.

PL. XXII. p. 116

Diagrams illustrative of the history of the chasuble. These are fully explained in the text (p. 115, *et seq.*).

PL. XXIII. p. 120

Longitudinal section of the presbytery (or sanctuary) of St. Alban's abbey-church. This is a fac-simile (by Messrs. Akerman) of a plate from the "Spring Gardens Sketch-Book," measured and drawn by Mr. T. S. Beachcroft, to whose courtesy I am indebted for permission to reproduce it here. The rebuilding of this portion of the church was commenced by abbat John Hertford (1235-1260), and carried on to completion by his successors, Roger Norton (1260-1291) and John Berkhamstead (1291-1302). A description of it will be found at pp. 145-147. In this drawing the altar-screen, erected (between 1476 and 1492) by abbat Wallingford, is seen in section. To the west of this appears the chantry-chapel of abbat Ramrydge, who died in 1521, and to the east of it is the saint's chapel, in the centre of which, upon the marble substructure lately re-erected (p. 147), stood the shrine of St. Alban. In the eastern-most arch will be noticed the beautiful "watching-chamber" for the guardian of the relics. Upon the timber vaulting may be observed the coloured decorations introduced by abbat Wheathampstead in the fifteenth century (p. 119).

PL. XXIV. p. 128

Interior of the north porch of Wells Cathedral. Fac-simile (by Messrs. Akerman) of a drawing by my brother, Mr. J. O. Scott. This is a good example of the earliest phase of the pointed style. The capitals, as will be observed, still retain, for the most part, the square plan of abacus inherited from the previous style, while a tendency towards the next stage in the architectural progress is indicated by the design of the capitals of the vaulting-shafts.

PL. XXV. p. 134

Fig I., Plan of the cathedral-church of Canterbury, as enlarged under St. Anselm and his immediate successors.

This work is fully described in the text. It is only necessary here to invite the reader to compare this plan with that of Lanfranc's cathedral given on plate XXI., Fig. I. (p. 102). It will be seen that the nave and transepts of Lanfranc's church were preserved unaltered in the rebuilding of 1093-1130. The quire of the monks is, however, moved up out of the nave, into the now extended eastern limb, and thus the basilican plan, up to this time generally adhered to, is lost, and the modern plan, characteristic of the middle ages, now first makes its appearance. It is only necessary further to call attention to the spot in the north transept where the martyrdom of St. Thomas took place (marked A upon the plan) and to the eastern chapel (of the B. Trinity), memorable on account of the saint's especial devotion.

Fig. II., Plan of the same as enlarged after the fire of A.D. 1174, under the direction of William of Sens and William "the Englishman." Lanfranc's nave and transepts still remained, the fire not having extended to this part of the building, but the transept galleries were removed, and upon the site of the Martyrdom (in the north transept) a small altar of St. Mary was erected. The quire of the religious, the high-altar, and the patriarchal throne retained, speaking generally, the positions they had occupied before the fire. But the small chapel of the B. Trinity at the east end of the church (cf. Fig. I.), in the crypt below which the body of St. Thomas had been interred, gave place to an immense eastward extension, dedicated in his honour, in the midst of which his shrine was erected.

These four plans (those given on pl. IX., pl. XXI., and the two here given) form a complete series, exhibiting the progress of church architecture in this country, from the time of the "romani fideles" of Bede's "History" (i., 33) through St. Augustine, Lanfranc, and St. Anselm, down to the period at which the transition to the medieval arrangements and to the pointed style was completed, at the close of the twelfth century.

PL. XXVI. p. 136

Window of the south quire aisle of Netley abbey. This, together with the five following plates, have been reproduced by Messrs. Akerman from sketches by the late Edward O'Brien (cf. pp. 129-140). They serve to exemplify the production of the traceried window from the grouped lancets of the early pointed style.

The first four plates exhibit this process in the case of the grouping of two lights, the two following illustrations show the same transition applied to an opening of three lights. In this example there is a very subtle suggestion of the coming change in the design of the central pier.

PL. XXVII. p. 138

Window from the chapter-house of Netley abbey. Here a further step toward the traceried window is indicated by the piercing of the tympanum above the grouped lights by a sex-foil opening.

PL. XXVIII. p. 140

Window of the clerestory of Tintern abbey. This is a very beautiful example of the perfected bar-tracery.

PL. XXIX. p. 142

View of the Tomb of bishop Giles of Bridport, in the south-east transept of Salisbury cathedral. This work is not only interesting in itself, as commemorating the prelate under whose rule the new church of Sarum was consecrated, but it affords another specimen of the earliest form of bar-tracery.

PL. XXX. p. 144

West window of the south aisle of Tintern abbey. Here we have a good example of the group of three lancets developed into what is virtually a traceried window, but without pierced spandrels. The spandrels in this instance are merely sunk.

PL. XXXI. p. 146

Three-light window from the nave of Netley abbey. In this instance the spandrels between the lights and the enclosing arch are pierced by trefoil openings in a manner which is somewhat peculiar, and which indicates the transition from the pure plate-tracery of the chapter-house of the same abbey (pl. XXVII.) to the complete bar-tracery of the next phase of the style.

PL. XXXII. p. 148

View of the sub-structure of the shrine of St. Alban. An account of the discovery of the *débris* of this beautiful work will be found in my father's "Personal and Professional Recollections," p. 324. Its recovery, as he truly remarks, "is one of the most wonderful facts of modern archæology." Such structures are improperly termed shrines, a word which applies in strictness to the wooden chests (*scrinia*) within which the relics were deposited, and which these erections of stone or marble were designed to support. St. Alban's abbey contains another of these structures, similarly recovered, that of St. Amphibalus, which is now restored to its ancient site in the vestibule of the Lady-chapel. This is of the close of the fourteenth century, as that of the proto-martyr is of its commencement. It was erected by Ralph Whitchurch, who was sacrist under abbat De La Mare (1349-1396), in place of an earlier structure serving for the same purpose which had stood in the nave, in front of the altar of the Holy Cross (cf. p. 121, footnote). Notices of similar erections will be found at pp. 99 (footnote), 108, 139, and 145.

PL. XXXIII. p. 162

Mosaics from the church of St. George, at Thessalonica. Fig. I., A Baptistery, with its enclosing *cancellus*. Fig. II., A Baldaquin, surmounting an altar, which is hidden from view by the veil, which is here represented as drawn close. From Texier and Pullan's work.

PL. XXXIV. p. 168

Altar-piece of the Quire of Christchurch priory, Hants. This is clearly a work of the fourteenth

century, and therefore earlier in date than the part of the church in which it stands. It will be observed, however, that its cornice is of fifteenth-century character, and belongs, no doubt, to the period at which the structure was re-erected in its present position. In this view the high-altar is restored, its dimensions (ten feet four inches long by three feet four inches high) being clearly enough indicated in the existing wall-face.

PL. XXXV. p. 178

Internal view of the Quire of Christchurch priory, Hants. This is a very good example of the perfected style of the fifteenth century, before the introduction of the fan-vault. The manner in which the groin-ribs are made to spring from pendants is remarkable, and is managed with great skill. Indeed, the whole work, although upon a very moderate scale (being but twenty-two feet eight inches in the clear width) is particularly happy in design. The ancient quire-fittings are retained in unusual completeness. I may observe that the absence of front desks to the *sub-sella* gives somewhat of a foreign character to the arrangement of the stall-work and adds much to its dignity. The rood-beam and rood are, of course, conjectural. I have ventured to restore them—in order to give a more complete idea of a medieval quire—and necessarily from foreign examples, since while there are ancient rood-screens to be found in every part of the country, and not a few ancient rood-lofts, there is not, I believe, a single old english rood standing, though every town or village church in the country once possessed this striking symbol of christian belief, and the cathedrals and minsters had often many roods. The systematic destruction of these by the english Reformers is the more remarkable from the striking absence of any such animosity in the country which gave birth to protestantism. It would seem that in this, anglicanism owes more to Switzerland than to Germany. Even to this day, in the land of Luther, no such feeling, as led to the wholesale destruction of the roods in England, is to be found. The "Protestant Evangelical" Church of North Germany has been, in our own time, formed by a compulsory fusion of the lutheran and calvinistic bodies. In the new church of St. Nicholas, at Hamburg, erected for the use of this communion, my father had designed to fill certain niches in the interior with figures of the apostles and evangelists. Dr. Krauzer, the then pastor of the church, objected. "It is well enough," he said, "for the Roman or the Anglican Church to set up statues of the saints, but what the Protestant Evangelical Church insists on is the crucifix. The first thing that should strike the eye upon one's entering a church of the Protestant Evangelical communion is the figure of the Crucified. That is our doctrine and that is our symbol." A life-size crucifix in white marble was accordingly erected over the reredos in St. Nicholas. This plate, and the preceding, have been engraved by Mr. E. S. Gascoine.

PL. XXXVI. p. 182

Diagrams illustrating the design of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, as originally laid down and as subsequently modified. It will be understood, of course, that the former can only be conjectural, since we have no evidence (but by way of inference from the building as it exists) upon the subject. The grounds of this inference are sufficiently explained in the text. Fig. I. shows in block the cross-section of the chapel as it is. Fig. II. gives the same as I conceive it to have been originally planned. It will be noticed that the springing-line of the side-windows is the same in both, but whereas now the vault springs at a height of some six feet above that of the windows, I imagine the two to have sprung, as at first designed, at the same level. This is in accordance with all the precedents of this and the preceding period, and particularly with that of the Ely Lady-chapel; for while in some cases (as at Gloucester), the windows spring at a *higher* level than the vault, in not one case do they start (as in the existing work at Cambridge) at a *lower* line. The pitch of the vault (in Fig. II.) is of course a matter of conjecture. I have stated in the text my reasons for the height here given to it, founded upon a theory of proportionment (which may or may not be correct). It is the rise which many of the medieval vaultings take, and that of the Lady-chapel at Ely bears about the same proportion to the height of its springing line.

Fig. III. shows the plan of the vaulting-shafts of the ante-chapel with their bases. On the upper half of the figure the ribs of the existing fan-vault are shown (on plan), on its lower half the arrangement of the ribs of the *lierne*-vault, which, as I conceive, it was designed to bear. It will be observed that the direction of the several bases (which is peculiar) has no meaning in relation to the fan-vault (Fig. IV.), but coincide with remarkable exactness with the ribs which a *lierne*-vault (like that at Ely, Fig. V.) would require. Thus the shaft A takes the transverse rib, B the diagonal, C

the intermediate, and D the wall rib. Upon the hypothesis that a lierne-vault was intended, each member of the group is seen to have its proper function, which is indicated, moreover, by the plan of the bases themselves. But how different is the case with the members of the existing fan-vault (as shown in the upper half of Fig. III.). Here the ribs have no proper relation to the members of the pier. The shaft D is made to bear not the wall-rib alone, but *five* other ribs. This one member carries, in fact, the whole of the vaulting-ribs, with the exception of the great transverse arch, and even this is partially borne by it. The shafts A and B correspond to members of this great arch, but C has nothing whatever to do, and accordingly it disappears in the cap. The evidence of a change of intention is, to my mind, conclusive. The plan of vaulting compartments suggested in Fig. V. is taken from that of the Ely chapel, and agrees exactly with the indications afforded by the vaulting-shafts. It is also very similar to that of the vaulting of the two easternmost chantries of the northern side, which are of the earlier date.

PL. XXXVII. p. 184

King's College Chapel. Fig. I., Bay of ante-chapel, actual design. Fig. II., Bay of quire, conjectural restoration of the original design. The latter shows a lierne-vault springing at the same level as the windows. Of course the pitch of the window-arch and the design of its tracery are matters of pure conjecture. They are, however, such as would be in character with the architecture of the period at which the chapel was originally designed (*circa* 1443), which is obviously not the case as regards the actual design, either of the windows, or of the vaulting. It will be noticed that in the design as shown in Fig. II., the great space of wall between the window-head and the wall-rib does not occur. I have fully explained in the text (p. 184), how this remarkable feature was the result of the alteration of design which the later architect adopted.

EXPLICIT.





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